

NOW & THEN

THE APPALACHIAN MAGAZINE

CENTER FOR APPALACHIAN STUDIES AND SERVICES • EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

POLITICS IN APPALACHIA

*Is this
funny?*

*Postcards
from the edge
of good taste*

*Appalachia
and the politics
of humor*

Appalachian Speed Bumps



West Virginia and John F. Kennedy

Jo Carson on her new work, "The L.A. Cycle"

Gurney Norman on Appalachian identity

Scandal Sheet

*A history of the Appalachian Regional Commission and an
interview with its new chief, Jesse L. White*

Articles • Interviews • Poems • Reviews

PROPERTY OF ARCHIVES OF APPALACHIA
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

COMPLICITIES

I kept saying to myself, "How can children in the capitalist world go on living without being near Chairman Mao, and without the hope of ever seeing him in person?"

*Jung Chang in **Wild Swans***

IT COULD HAPPEN HERE warned the pamphlet,
its Sunday School map splotched red, as if the world
had broken out in hives or scratched at poison ivy.
I stuck it like a bookmark in my Bible.

The sanctuary carpet hushed the clack of patent leather.
And I thought: it will muffle boots, too.
They'll slip into the vestibule, wait for the prayer
and Amen, for the choir to sing and the wooden plates

to fill with the folded checks of the fathers
and the nickel tithes of girls and boys—
then they'll slam in with machine guns, shouting
to the startled organist, her feet flatting loud on wrong notes.

When the small man in the olive cap pushes the preacher
from the pulpit, mothers and fathers will reach for their children,
old men and women fumble for canes or words,
but I'll stand right up into the critique of bullets

→ → → → → → →

When Richard Nixon came to Chattanooga as evangelist
for Barry Goldwater, I cheered with my family in the balcony
of the coliseum. Down there on the podium,
small but amplified, he described the world we believed in.

I thought of children on that other continent, brainwashed
in their uniforms. He said our missiles were crouched
in the desert like locusts ready to swarm, and Green Berets
jumped and died for us in countries from here to there

At the airport, the runway glittered.
Soon Nixon's plane would rumble up into the darkness,
but he'd come back tomorrow inside the tv, shrunk smaller
than any real person and in far-off black and white.

Now, though, he was the size of my daddy, his blue tie pin-striped red.
He was chatting with us like the preacher after church, lingering
as if he had time to kill. He smiled when I told him
I'd never wash the hand the he touched with his.

— Lynn Powell

*A native of East Tennessee, Lynn Powell now lives in Oberlin, Ohio. She is the recipient of a 1994 Individual Artists Fellowship from the Ohio Arts Council. Other recent work of hers has appeared in **The Paris Review**.*

Spring 1994
Volume 11, Number 1



Center for Appalachian
Studies and Services
Director

Jean Haskell Speer

Editor Pat Arnow

Assistant Editor Nancy Fischman

Poetry Editor Jo Carson

Music Editor Ed Snodderly

Associate Editor Jane H. Woodside

Contributing Editor Sandra L. Ballard

Subscriptions Frieda Souder

Support Staff

Charles Moore ♦ Penelope Lane

Volunteers

Martin Edwards ♦ Blair White
Laurene Scalf

Editorial Advisory Board

- Bert Allen • Ed Cabbell •
- Pauline Cheek • Mary Chiltoskey •
- Robert J. Higgs • Marat Moore •
- Rita Quillen • Fred Waage •

Now & Then has been published three times a year since 1984 by the Center for Appalachian Studies and Services (CASS) at East Tennessee State University. CASS is one of the State of Tennessee's Centers of Excellence supporting artistic, scholarly, and public service projects in the region. When you become a Friend of CASS (\$10 per year, \$12 for institutions and libraries), you receive a subscription to *Now & Then*.

Submissions of poetry, fiction, articles, personal essays, graphics, and photographs concerned with Appalachian life past and present are welcomed if accompanied by a self-addressed stamped envelope. Upcoming deadline: Celebrations and Rituals — July 1, 1994 (for Fall 1994). Address correspondence to:

Now & Then, Box 70556, ETSU
Johnson City TN 37614-0556

The views expressed in these pages are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent opinions of East Tennessee State University or of the Tennessee Board of Regents.

East Tennessee State University is fully in accord with the belief that educational and employment opportunities should be available to all eligible persons without regard to age, sex, race, religion, national origin, or disability.

TBR No. 260 074 93 2M
ISSN No. 0896-2693

© Copyright by the Center for Appalachian
Studies and Services, 1994

Printed by Graphics Unlimited, Johnson City, Tenn.

Special thanks as always to the generous
help of Jim Sledge and Larry Smith

NOW & THEN

THE APPALACHIAN MAGAZINE

"Friends, fellow-citizens, brothers and sisters: They accuse me of being a drunkard, it's a d----d eternal lie — for whiskey can't make me drunk."

— Davy Crockett as quoted by Walter Blair ("Six Davy Crocketts," in *Voices from the Hills*)

◀ Complicities

Lynn Powell

4 The Appalachian Regional Commission

Pat Arnow

5 ARC interviews: Sen. Harlan Mathews, Michael Wenger, and Jesse White

Pat Arnow & Jean Speer

7 Images of Appalachia Gov. Mario Cuomo and Sen. Jim Sasser

Nancy Fischman

8 An "Other Consciousness"

Gurney Norman

11 Morality Play

Jim Leftwich

12 Jo Carson's L.A. Cycle

Pat Arnow

14 Chafin of Cow Creek

Topper Sherwood

17 I Am a Kennedy Man

Denise Giardina

18 Postcards from the Edge of Good Taste

Pat Arnow

21 Scandal Sheet

Laurene Scalf

22 The Old Man Studies the Election

David Black

23 Tell Me About the Old Days

Gordon L. Swartz III

24 Shooting at Snakes, Aiming at Signs

Christina Pacosz

24a Still Lagging After All These Years

Charles Moore

25 Wearing Out Old Glory

Jerry Hilliard

27 Lesbian Eyes

Glenn McKee

28 Ron Coleman, Vice-Mayor of Harriman, Tenn.

Janet Evans

39 For the Cutover Woods of Dixie

Errol Miller

41 Reviews *Dead Laws for Dead Men* by Daniel J. Curran

Stephen L. Fisher

Fighting Back in Appalachia
edited by Stephen L. Fisher

Keith Miles

The Appalachian Regional Commission
by Michael Bradshaw

Keith Miles

Appalachian Portraits
by Shelby Lee Adams

Jean Haskell Speer

Stories 'Neath the Roan
collected by the Blue Ridge Reading Team

Nancy Fischman

Brief Reviews:
Making History, The Politics of Despair, Night Ride,
The Big Lever, The Mountains Within Me,
and Kennedy vs. Humphrey (p. 16)

Pat Arnow, Jo Carson
Nancy Fischman,
Laurene Scalf, Jean Speer

48 Music

Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life by Guy Carawan

Ed Snodderly

49 Coal Camp Trinity

J. L. Watkins

The Politics of Having Fun

Growing up in Chicago in the days of the first Mayor Daley, I learned early that politics can be an entertaining spectator sport. After living in several different areas of the country, which were minor league when it came to playing politics, I moved to this region, and soon found that politics here were just as much fun as they had been back in Chicago. That is why we had such a good time putting together "Politics in Appalachia."

We decided to look at what makes Appalachia big league. That led us into some of the great scandals in the region. We also had to talk about the masterful political stroke of John F. Kennedy's winning the presidential primary in West Virginia, a victory that helped propel him into the White House. Those stories

are at the core of what I think of when I think about politics in the region.

In recent years the word *politics* has expanded to include cultural issues. That's the justification for looking at some really silly postcards that have serious political implications — or not, depending on which of the people we consulted you think are right. Gurney Norman's story of coming to consciousness as an Appalachian also is important when talking about the politics of culture in the region. Culture and politics also provided a place for playwright Jo Carson and me to create a scenario in response to *The Kentucky Cycle*, the Pulitzer-Prize-winning play that insulted so many people from the region. Our effort, "Jo Carson's *L.A. Cycle*," plays turnaround on *The Kentucky Cycle*. We

had more fun doing the interview than any two serious writers have a right to have, but we think *The Kentucky Cycle* deserves our efforts.

Besides finding humor in politics, we have also included the political entities that have changed the face of Appalachia. We focused on the Appalachian Regional Commission, an agency that has had a tremendous impact on the region but has received little attention in recent years. And Jesse L. White gave us his first interview as President Clinton's appointee to head the agency. Assistant editor Nancy Fischman compiled the results of a questionnaire she sent to politicians in the region. These include New York Gov. Mario Cuomo and Tennessee Sen. Jim Sasser. These articles, along with some other pieces about recent history in the region, show some of the political thoughts and actions that made Appalachia what it is today.

— Pat Arnow, Editor

Center for Appalachian Studies and Services

The Personalization of Politics

Former Speaker of the House, Tip O'Neill, who died recently, once said that all politics is local. Nothing could be more true of the Appalachian region. I grew up in a big city where politics and politicians seemed far removed from the everyday life of a citizen. I never knew any politicians and never knew anyone who called on them for assistance. But when I moved to a small town in a rural part of Appalachia nearly 25 years ago, I found the distance between politics and everyday life diminished. I came to know local, state, and federal representatives in the government well, called on them, and found they responded. I have since learned that in Appalachia politics is highly personalized, and each voter counts. Some suggest this stems from a heritage of personalized "electioneering" in homes and community centers, where political success depends largely on friendship and kinship. Whatever the reason, I have found it refreshing, while knowing that this political system has also led to widespread abuse and corruption in some parts of the region.

One of my favorite political descriptions from Appalachia (found in James Still's *The Wolfpen Notebooks*) testifies to the personal nature of old-time politicking

in the region and the potential for abuse: "Kinfolks might cuss and fight one another yet mostly they web together when it comes to voting. If a candidate can swing over the one they look to, he doesn't have to waste time courting the others. Pay him and skip the rest."

In this issue, we examine politics in Appalachia from a variety of perspectives. We explore the politics of federal bureaucracy, attitudes about the region held by elected representatives of the region, and issues in the politics of culture. We probe political scandals and poke a little fun at our own cultural foibles. We provide information on resources for your own study of politics in Appalachia. What you will learn is that, in Appalachia as elsewhere, politics is a subject, as one political theorist has said, like religion, love, and the arts, that people cannot leave alone in behavior, talk, or history; in all countries and cultures, people dwell on lore about the state, what it is and does and should be. Political lore in Appalachia is as rich as the region's other folklore; political wisdom in Appalachia has its own regional flavor.

This issue of the magazine launches our 10th year as a Center of Excellence at East Tennessee State University. We believe the center has accomplished a great deal in

its decade of service to the Appalachian region. We have sponsored research, artistic endeavors, and public service projects that have promoted understanding of the region, helped find solutions to some of the region's problems, and enriched the region. The next issue of *Now & Then* will focus on our 10th anniversary and review our 10 years of work.

You will notice some changes with the next issue. We will give you more news about our work in the center, including in the magazine a combined newsletter for the center and its two divisions, the Reece Museum and the Archives of Appalachia. We will introduce you to the hard-working folks behind the magazine and all the center's programs. And, we will be asking you for more support; after 10 years of hard and excellent work, we believe we have earned it. With the political and economic realities of the 1990s, centers like ours that are devoted to improving quality of life in Appalachia need your political, moral, and financial support now more than ever. In honor of our 10th anniversary, become a member of the center (if you aren't already) or, if you are a member, please consider giving us a special gift for our anniversary celebration.

— Jean Haskell Speer, Director

Memories Uncovered by the Watauga Drawdown

Buried beneath the Tennessee Valley Authority's Watauga Lake are the remains of the only incorporated township inundated by the waters of a TVA reservoir, Butler, Tenn. When Old Butler was condemned, bought, hauled away, and, in 1948, finally flooded, a history was partially buried. Bits of this history resurfaced in 1983 during the drawdown of the lake by the TVA for inspection and maintenance of the structure of the dam.

Within the history of Butler lies the history of learning in a rural Appalachian community. Aenon Seminary was established in 1871 by members of the community at Butler for their children. Led by Professor James H. Smith, students assisted in the construction of a new building. In 1886 the building was renamed Holly Spring College, then sold at the turn of the century to the Baptist Home Mission Board who renamed it Watauga Academy. As the school flourished, so did the town of Butler whose population increased from 200 in the 1890s to more than 800 by the time of its demise.

One of the residents of this small town and a graduate of Watauga Academy was B. Carroll Reece, a grandson of Professor Smith. Born in Butler in 1889, Brazillia Carroll Reece emerged as a nationally recognized political figure. After serving in the United States Army during World War I, Reece ran for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1920.

He served in the House for 34 years. Political cartoonists such as Herblock, Jim Berryman, Lou Hanlon, and Gib Crockett found an abundance of subject matter in the Northeast Tennessean whom they dubbed "Mr. Republican."

Reece rose to chair the Republican National Committee, conducted the national convention of 1948, and served on a multitude of important congressional committees. Despite his powerful position, he was unable to thwart the Democratic legislation which ultimately flooded his hometown.

However, memories of Reece, who died in 1961, and of the town of Butler, survive. Reece's memory was kept alive in part with the dedication of the B. Carroll Reece Museum in 1965, and with some of the items in the museum's per-

manent collection, among them original political cartoons and elephant figures.

Memories of Butler are kept alive through the Watauga Academy Alumni Association and through an annual summer celebration called "Old Butler Days." Celebrations include boat rides on the waters which cover the remains of the town 200 feet below.

Parts of Old Butler were salvaged. Several houses were moved to create a new community which residents named Carderview and later renamed Butler. Objects such as a highboy desk, which

was once used in the general store owned by the Reece family and donated to the museum by a former Butler resident, serve as reminders of life in the close-knit community. Some materials were recycled into new buildings such as the Virginia Avenue United Methodist Church in Bristol, Tenn. This salvage operation saved parts of the old town and made available materials for projects that otherwise may have been postponed due to post-World War II shortages.

During the 1983 drawdown, former residents relived familiar walks down tree-lined streets, Saturday dates at the Bluebird Tea Room, and Sunday wor

Continued on page 47

Archives of Appalachia

Photographing Southern Appalachia

The Archives of Appalachia is fortunate to have a number of collections which photographically document the history and culture of the Southern Mountains, particularly East Tennessee

The *Sing Along with Appalachia Collection* contains both negatives and prints of life during the mid-to late-1930s in the area now encompassed by the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Photos show the making of lye soap, quilting, sugar cane cutting, and weaving. The *Clifford Maxwell Collection* includes prints of Johnson City businesses, street scenes, and events from 1950 to 1970. This collection also includes some copies Maxwell made of prints originally taken in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The *Burr Harrison Photos* concentrate on Johnson City in the early 20th century. There are a number of pictures of early businesses and industries and of Mountain Home Veterans Administration hospital.

The *Kelly and Green Collection* contains prints and negatives of Bristol, Tennessee and Virginia, schools, churches, and businesses, from 1934 to 1940. The *Charles Tiller Collection* includes black-and-white prints of logging in Southwest Virginia. And the *Kenneth Murray Photographs* consist of hundreds of black-and-white photos, some of the finest prints housed in the archives, on a huge variety of subjects. These include coal mining, farm life, handcrafts, country stores, to-

bacco growing, railroads, and plowing. There are also portraits of men, women, and children of Southern Appalachia. Murray's images are frequently published in *Now and Then*.

West Virginia is represented in the *Jeanne M. Rasmussen Collection*. Her work, which was featured in *Now and Then*, Fall 1990, concentrates on the coal-mining areas of West Virginia in the 1960s. Contained in the collection are photos of miners and their families, as well as prints of mines, strip-mined land, and coal-mining communities.

The archives holds a great many photographs which relate to railroads. The *Henry Blackwell Collection* consists of negatives and contact prints which depict the August 13, 1940, flood on the Linville River Railroad, a narrow-gauge railroad which ran from Pineola to Cranberry, N. C. The *James T. Dowdy* prints include images of the East Tennessee and Western Carolina Railroad, the Linville River Railroad, and the Carolina, Clinchfield and Ohio Railroad. Included are photos of locomotives, passenger cars, depots, and train wrecks. The *James A. Goforth Collection* contains prints of places along the route of the Clinchfield Railway. The *William Cary Hattar* prints focus on the building of the Clinchfield in the first and second decades of the 20th century. The *Jack Underwood* photos show the 1904 New Market train wreck and other railroad related topics.

Continued on page 47

THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL COMMISSION

The Slow Road to Highways ... and Water and Sewer

Pat Arnow

When I mentioned to a political science professor that I was working on a story about the Appalachian Regional Commission, he said, "You mean there's still an Appalachian Regional Commission?" The federal agency created in 1965 to alleviate dire conditions in the Eastern mountains faced its own dire conditions in the 1980s, fighting off attempts to shut it down and, when those attempts failed, enormous budget cuts. Even though its presence in the region barely registered on most people's consciousness in recent years, ARC projects, particularly road-building, have had a major impact on Appalachia.

What follows is an overview of the agency and interviews with three insiders: Jesse White, the former director of the Southern Growth Policies Board, who is President Bill Clinton's appointee to head ARC, Tennessee Senator Harlan Mathews, who helped to write the initial legislation for ARC, and Michael Wenger, States' Washington Representative, who has been with ARC since 1981. There are those who will dispute some of their ideas and conclusions, but each man offers a unique perspective into the workings of the agency.

Plans for a government agency to improve conditions in the economically depressed

Eastern mountains began during the administration of President John F. Kennedy, who had been "shocked at the sight of shoeless children" during his presidential primary campaign, according to Michael Bradshaw in a history of the Appalachian Regional Commission (see review on page 43). It was after

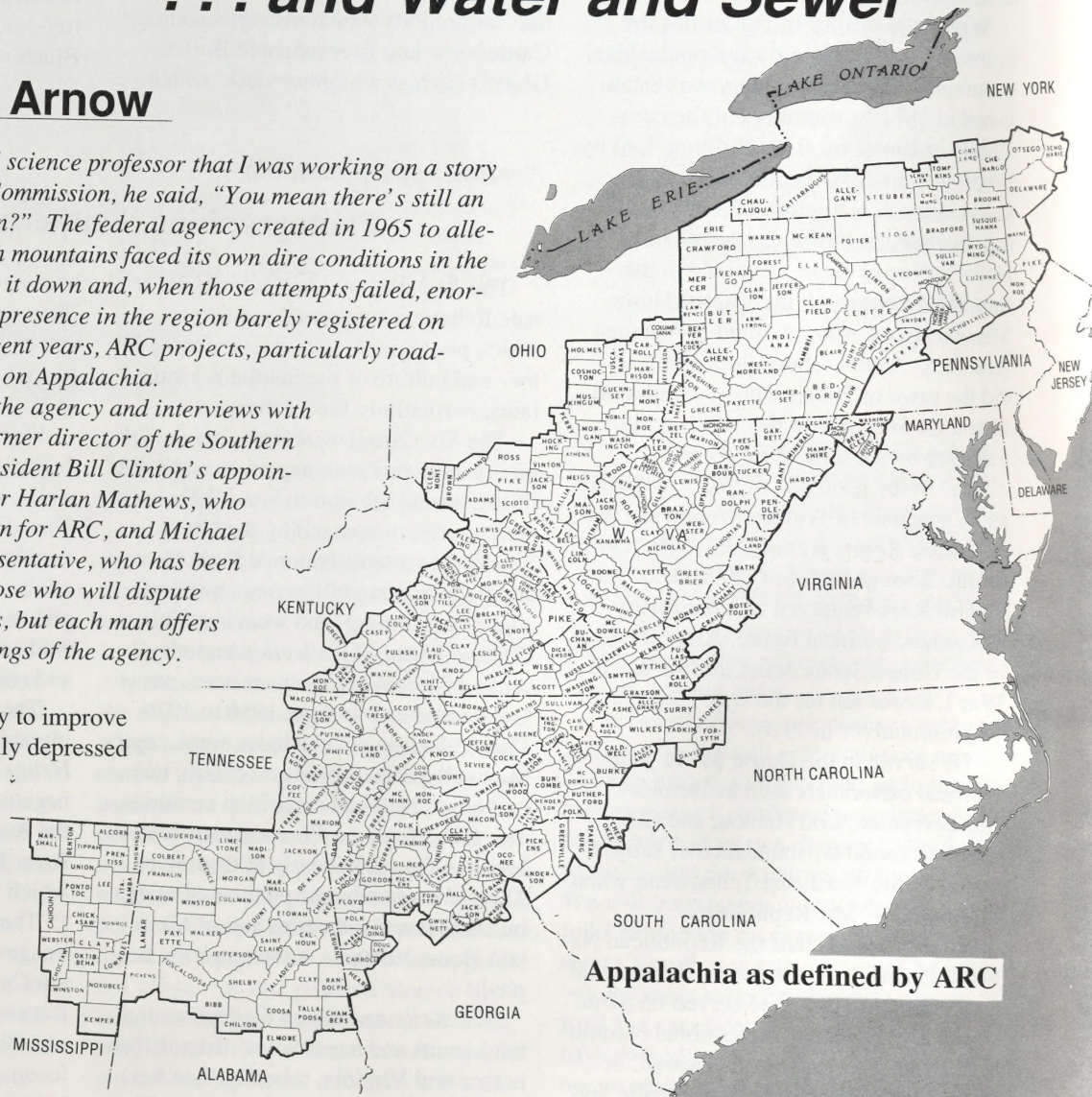
Kennedy's assassination that legislation actually forming ARC finally was approved by Congress.

ARC started out primarily to build roads. "In those days the ARC was really looking at transportation routes, water and sewer, things that would promote economic development, but roads were the big big thing," said Roy Nicks, president of East Tennessee State University who was assistant to Tennessee Gov. Frank Clement on federal programs during the early years of the War on Poverty, Manpower, and ARC.

Appalachia as defined by ARC is "a 195,000 square-mile region that follows the spine of the Appalachian Mountains from southern New York down to northern Mississippi. It encompasses all of West Virginia and parts of 12 other states."

The boundaries of the ARC are not just geographic; they cover political terrain as well. Some mountainous counties in Virginia were not interested in being a part of an agency that was identified with hardship and poverty. Later, some of these counties rethought their attitude, perhaps because they saw the possi-

see ARC on page 6



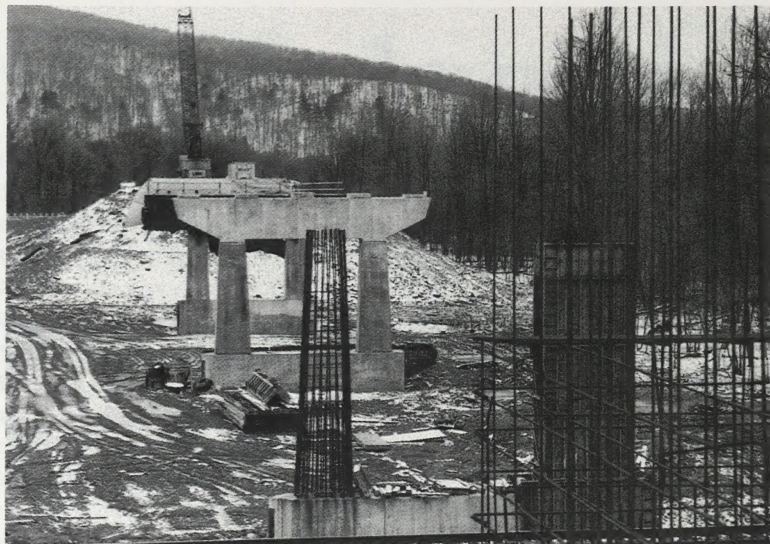
Harlan Mathews, U.S. Senator from Tennessee

On Building the Road to ARC with Kennedy and Johnson

In a profile in *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, his occupation is listed simply as "public official." The magazine says that he is "a consummate insider who has never been popularly elected and is known to few Tennesseans." But after Albert Gore was elected Vice President of the United States last November, Harlan Mathews was chosen by Gov. Ned McWherter to fill out the Tennessee Senator's term.

Mathews has had a long career in Tennessee politics. A Democrat, he served on the budget staff of Gov. Frank Clement in 1954. He was elected State Treasurer in 1974. He became McWherter's campaign manager and, after the 1986 election, McWherter's deputy.

One of the roles that Mathews played in his years in Tennessee state government was in the development of the Appalachian Regional Commission in 1963 and 1964. He participated in the early planning and met with President John F. Kennedy to talk over the creation of the Commission. *Now & Then* wanted to know more about those years. We met in the senator's Washington office. He showed a framed black-and-



Southern Tier Expressway under construction. The four-lane highway, funded by ARC, connects the Southern Tier of New York from east to west.

Southern Tier Expressway under construction. The four-lane highway, funded by ARC, connects the Southern Tier of New York from east to west.

white photo of several men standing with Kennedy. Gov. Clement and Mathews are in the photo along with highway department officials and others.

He began by talking about how the Appalachian Regional Commission came about.

Mathews: It was mostly a highway program. What we were hoping to see *Mathews on page 31*

Michael Wenger, States' Washington Representative, ARC

On Surviving the Bumps and Potholes of the 1980s

Michael Wenger was born and raised in New York. In 1967 he went to West Virginia to work with the community action program in Raleigh County. In 1971, he set up an office of federal-state programs for the mayor of Charleston. When Jay Rockefeller was elected governor in 1976, Wenger worked in the governor's office of federal-state relations, eventually becoming the Commissioner of the Department of Employment Security. In 1981, Wenger went to Washington, D.C., to work for ARC as the liaison between the governors of the Appalachian states and the Congress. He described this background to me in his office at the Washington headquarters of ARC. We spoke about ARC's recent history and his vision of the future.

Now & Then: It sounds from your background like you've seen things from the grass roots on up.

Wenger: I think so. When I was with the community action program, I guess you'd say we were anti-establishment. We

see Wenger on page 32

Jesse L. White Jr., Federal Co-Chair, ARC

On Continuing on the Highway and Exploring Some Roads Less Traveled

From 1982 to 1990, Jesse L. White Jr. served as executive director of the Southern Growth Policies Board, an economic development "think tank" serving 14 governors of southern states. President Bill Clinton, while still governor of Arkansas, served as chairman of the group during 1985-1986, and he and White worked together to produce the highly acclaimed report of the Commission on the Future of the South, "Halfway Home and a Long Way to Go." Clinton recently appointed White, a native of Mississippi with a Ph.D. in political science from M.I.T., as the new federal co-chair of ARC. We spoke by phone while White was still in Chapel Hill, N.C., on the eve of his departure for Washington, the first official interview in his new role.

Now & Then: What interested you in this position as Federal Co-Chair of ARC?

Jesse White: I had worked on issues of regional economic development for the last 12 years, eight years at the Southern Growth

see White on page 35

bility of receiving funding for projects, and asked to be included in ARC's territory. Other states never had a moment's hesitation; they wanted to be a part of ARC whether there were any mountains in their area or not. Thirty-five counties in Alabama and 20 in Mississippi are included in ARC's map. Many of these counties border Middle and West Tennessee, which are not part of ARC. Similarly, all of Western Pennsylvania is part of ARC, but none of bordering Northeastern Ohio is.

Sen. Robert Byrd of West Virginia, Rep. Jamie Whitten of Mississippi, and Rep. Tom Bevill of Alabama are powerful Congressional supporters named by almost everyone who talks about the funding of the Appalachian Regional Commission. These and other important supporters in Congress have ensured survival of ARC even during Ronald Reagan's administration when every budget year Reagan recommended abolishing the agency.

"We've been fortunate that some of the key members of Congress have been from Appalachia," said Michael McGuire, Tennessee Gov. Ned McWherter's representative to ARC said in a telephone interview from his office in Nashville.

In the current fiscal year, the budget is \$249 million, \$60 million more than the Clinton administration requested in its budget. "How did that happen?" I asked several people knowledgeable about ARC. One official pointed out the appropriations committee recommendation: "Within the amount recommended for Appalachian regional development programs, the Committee has provided \$60 million for corridor L (highway) construction in West Virginia."

He added, "Who's chairman of the appropriations committee?"

"Sen. Robert Byrd of West Virginia," I said. He nodded.

Some might regard that appearance of politicking as proof that ARC is just another blatant pork barrel project. That's just what the August 1993 *Reader's Digest* claimed in an article titled, "You Can't Kill a Good Giveaway." The article claimed that ARC's projects "have not created significant, long-term em-

ployment ... Instead, most of the money has been ladled out to the home states of politically powerful Congressmen and other officials."

The story pointed out, in fact, that "seven of the 10 counties that have received the *least* ARC support are in the heart of central Appalachia." These include economically depressed Owsley County, Ky., which has never received any ARC highway aid, the article reported. The article also listed several ARC-funded programs that it considered pure pork barrel, including "\$50,000 for the 'Jamie L. Whiten Historical Center' ... honoring one of the ARC's chief Congressional benefactors" and "mock coal

"Most states are interested in providing water, sewer, road, and new jobs rather than learning what it was like to live in the holler."

mines" for vocational schools in Hazard, Ky., and Sumiton, Ala., at the Bevill State Community College.

ARC counters these accusations with a fact sheet. It points to a regional rise in per capita income to 82 percent of the national average, a reduction of out-migration, and a major reduction in poverty: "When ARC was established, one in three Appalachians lived in poverty, more than twice as many as in the rest of the nation. By 1990, this number had been cut in half and Appalachia's poverty rate was less than three points above the national rate."

Whether these improvements are all attributable to ARC could be questioned, but there are concrete examples of ARC's work — literally. The program that started out to build highways has been busy doing so. ARC has constructed more than 2,100 miles of highways and more than 800 miles of access roads to industrial parks and other facilities.

Some two-thirds of the \$6 billion dollars that Congress has allocated ARC over its 29-year history has gone into road-building. These highways have — for better or worse — improved the accessibility of mountainous areas. ARC-

funded roads include parts of U.S. 23 in Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina, parts of the Mountain Parkway in Kentucky, and dozens of other roads, many of them through steep mountains.

A third of ARC's budget, approximately \$2 billion, has gone toward education, health, and other projects in the region. ARC has helped construct, equip, or rehabilitate more than 700 vocational and technical education facilities, 400 primary health care clinics and hospitals, 20,000 housing units, and some 2,000 water and/or sewer systems.

Some of the projects are modest by federal government standards. This year, \$300,000 went to an Appalachian tourism center at Concord College in West Virginia. A \$1.5 million grant in 1976 helped fund construction of a new headquarters building for the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild on the Blue Ridge Parkway.

Cultural projects and programs are not the main focus of ARC, however. McGuire, who has been the ARC's state alternate for Tennessee under both Republican and Democratic governors said he was not much interested in projects focusing on culture and cultural heritage. "Most states are interested in providing water, sewer, road, and new jobs rather than (learning) what it was like to live in the holler." Appalachian culture and cultural heritage are "not what occupies my mind or my counterparts' minds as much. Ninety-nine percent of our days are taken up with water and sewer jobs," and of course, highways.

No other federal agency works the way ARC does. It is a partnership between the governors of the 13 states that make up ARC territory and a federal "co-chair" appointed by the president. ARC supporters believe that this system of administering federal dollars should be a model. McGuire pointed out that an agency such as Housing and Urban Development makes policy in Washington, and states essentially have no say in the allocations.

McGuire also noted, "States pay 50 percent of administering the program. As a result the staff up there is much more

see ARC on page 31

Images of Appalachia: A View From the Statehouse and a Perspective From Capitol Hill

*The Appalachian region as defined by the Appalachian Regional Commission extends from the Southern Tier of New York State through the northern half of Alabama into the northeast corner of Mississippi. The region touches parts of 13 different states and is one of the few defined geopolitical units in the United States that crosses such a broad geographic range. In the interest of finding out how the broad definition of Appalachia may relate to the various political units involved, **Now & Then** Assistant Editor Nancy Fischman queried several representatives.*

Governor Mario Cuomo

Mario Cuomo has been governor of New York since 1983, after serving as lieutenant governor for eight years. He was born in New York City and currently resides in Albany. The Appalachian Region of New York consists of the 14 counties that are the Southern Tier of the state bordering Pennsylvania. Four of the counties are classified as highland areas. The entire area is rural. The largest population centers are Union and Binghamton, both in Broome County.

Now & Then: Do you see Appalachia as a particular constituency?

Gov. Mario Cuomo: There is a constituency related to Appalachian New York. It is comprised of the Southern Tier region, which generally reflects the geography of the designated Appalachian region. However, it is also part of rural New York which is expansive. Significant consistencies relate primarily to agriculture, forestry, and economic development issues.

Now & Then: What do you find is the best way to discover what issues are of importance to your constituency?

Cuomo: The Appalachian program has been one of the key ways in which we have identified issues and more importantly, developed solutions to some of the more significant problems. There are, of course, other ways including the various functional State agencies and the State Legislature.

Now & Then: Are you advancing any legislation that favors the region?

Cuomo: Governor's program legislation in New York is generally developed for state-wide purposes. Proposed bills developed by the Executive Chamber are directed at such state-wide concerns and solutions. Traditionally, particular issues of re-

see Cuomo on page 37

Senator Jim Sasser

Jim Sasser is senior senator from Tennessee. He was first elected to the Senate in 1976. He was born in Memphis and maintains his primary residence in Nashville. Fifty of Tennessee's 95 counties are included in the Appalachian region. The largest population centers are Knoxville, Chattanooga, and the Tri-Cities of Bristol, Johnson City, and Kingsport.

As the senior senator from Tennessee, I recognize the special character of the Appalachian region. Appalachia is blessed by great natural beauty, but its people have long struggled to gain prosperity and economic security.

It is essential to preserve the natural heritage of the Appalachian region for its own sake, of course, but also because the beauty of the land is of great economic importance. Tourism at our national parks and recreation areas — such as the Great

***I strongly support other
important economic
development programs
important to predomi-
nantly rural areas such as
Appalachia. . .***

Smoky Mountains and Big South Fork — is of tremendous benefit to local businesses and residents. I sponsored legislation to ensure protection for the Smokies by designating it a wilderness

see Sasser on page 40

An "Other" Consciousness

by Gurney Norman

Until I went away to college at age 18, I had lived all my life in the coalfields of Eastern Kentucky and Southwest Virginia.

My mother's people in Lee County, Va., were miners and hillside farmers. My father's people in Perry County, Ky., were coal camp folks.

During the World War II years, with my father in the Army and my mother in a mental hospital, my older brother Jerry and my younger sister Gwynne and I divided our time between the houses of our grandparents on each side; by war's end both households had come to feel like natural homes to us.

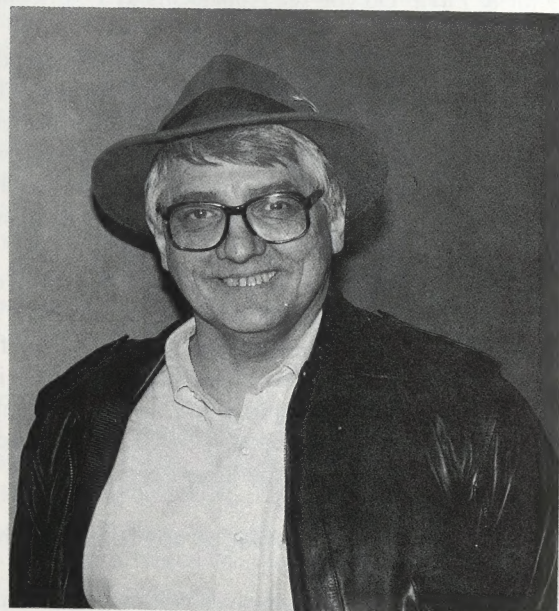
Among our folks in Virginia, we lived very much in the old-time mountain way. Grandma and Granddad raised nearly all the food we ate except for store necessities such as salt and coffee. In the summertime we bought ice in 50 pound blocks at the ice house in Pennington Gap and, having no car, hauled it home in a taxi after church on Sundays. We kept the ice in the cellar, wrapped in burlap bags, with the milk and butter sitting next to it. All through the war years Granddad worked regularly at the mines. In his spare time he helped Grandma with the farm work which included milking two cows twice a day and churning butter by hand. In the summers Grandma canned scores of quart and half-gallon jars of vegetables she had raised and fruit she had cultivated. They kept a sizable flock of chickens for eggs and meat. Every Saturday afternoon Grandma would wring the necks of two or three big fryers and skin them in preparation for Sunday dinner. In late summer we cut the corn in the field, one stalk at a time by hand, and dried it in fodder shocks. We dug potatoes and stored them in holes in the ground beneath some of the shocks to

shield them from the rain. In the fall Grandma and Granddad slaughtered one or two big hogs, made sausage, rendered lard, and smoked the hams. Grandma and Granddad had built their house and barn and outbuildings by hand, without power tools of any kind. Their house was heated by coal fires in grates in two rooms and a coal-burning cook stove in the kitchen. The kitchen had running water, gravity-fed from a cistern Granddad and his oldest sons had dug by hand, but there was no other indoor plumbing until after the war.

We kids were mostly spectators of the hard work that seemed to go on all around us without end, although we had serious chores to do. My own favorite chore was to walk out through the woods to the pasture in the mornings and evenings and drive in the cows for milking. We kids were expected to bring in coal and kindling at night for the morning fires and carry out the ashes. We helped Grandma pick berries, string beans, shell peas, hoe corn, thin corn, pick corn, shuck corn, and shell corn for the chickens. We peeled apples, pears, peaches, and tomatoes, and chopped up cabbage for kraut and chow-chow. We helped with the housework, washed dishes, waxed floors, and always, every Monday without fail, worked alongside Grandma on the all-day job of getting out the family wash. Once a year we helped Grandma make lye soap in a big iron kettle outside the wash house. Some years, when the peach orchard in the new ground was productive, we made big vats of peach butter in the same iron kettle. On leisurely days we watched Grandma and Granddad

do such things as bottom chairs with bark they had stripped from trees. Our evening recreation was pitching horseshoes, playing hide 'n' seek, and, indoors, playing checkers and listening to the big floor-model radio in the kitchen.

Life among our father's people in Allais coal camp at the edge of Hazard, Ky., was on an industrial-village model, with the big company commissary at the center of community activity. My father's father, Gurney W. Norman, or G.W. as most people called him (I am Gurney M.) had moved his family to Allais in 1916 to build and then manage the commissary for Columbus Mining Company for the next 31 years. My father Howard grew up in Allais. As a young husband and father he worked for the company as a miner, on the tippie and sometimes underground. Around us all day, every working day, was the roar of the tippie as it processed the coal before dropping it into the great gons below, filling them one by one to make a train. Coal camp play for us boys included such things as placing nails and pennies on the railroad track to have them flattened beneath the wheels of the steam engines. As often as not, we'd leap on the moving train as it went by, ride it down the tracks a few hundred yards, then leap off before the train got going *too* fast. Then we'd walk back to our starting place and collect our flattened nails and pennies as if they were valuable treasures. Near



Pat Arnow

Gurney Norman at Appalachian Studies conference, Johnson City, Tenn., 1993.

the commissary was Dr. Ray's office, a frame house not unlike the scores of frame houses that lined Allais hollow. More than once I watched wide-eyed as miners, mangled and bloody from an underground rock fall or some accident involving dynamite or machinery, were carried out of the hollow on stretchers to Dr. Ray's office, sometimes too late for the doctor to do them any good.

Half a century later, such images of daily life in my childhood years seem exotic even to me. But at the time, in the late 1930s and early 1940s, our combined farm-and-mining camp lives seemed utterly ordinary as far as we kids were concerned. It couldn't possibly have occurred to any of us that someone, somewhere, might have a sociological analysis of our way of life or a label to pin on our family. We didn't think of ourselves as "mountain people," or "hillbillies" or "Appalachians" although I knew about hillbillies. Snuffy Smith and Lil' Abner and Ma 'n' Pa Kettle, whose adventures we followed with great pleasure in the comic strips and movies, were hillbillies. As far as I was concerned, I and the people around me were pure-D Americans and damned patriotic, too, especially during the war years, with my father in the Army Air Corps in Texas and all four of my mother's brothers in danger in the combat zones of Europe and the Pacific.

At either of my grandparents' houses I was an eager child-participant in the war effort. I collected scrap iron from the neighbors, rode on floats in patriotic parades, and sang Gene Autry songs to small crowds of neighbors at public war-bond rallies. My Grandfather Norman, whom we kids called "Uncle G," had a world atlas that he and I read together. We studied maps and discussed campaigns we heard about on the radio or saw in the newsreels at the movies. Studying the atlas was a form of traveling in the mind; I felt I had been to the places described in that book. I was only six in 1943 and seven in 1944 but I knew the difference between the Eastern Front and the Western Front, and the names of islands in the Pacific where the great battles were being fought. I knew that General MacArthur had said he would return to the Philippines. I knew that Blood 'n' Guts Patton had slapped an enlisted man. I knew that my four uncles were in the thick of it. The atlas and the radio and

the movies and the somber adult talk I overheard made me feel very much a participant in the enormous national and global events of those incredible days.

Everybody had relatives working in defense plants in the industrial cities. When they came home on visits, they brought with them, in addition to more money than most families had ever seen, a whole new attitude toward, and knowledge of, the great world beyond the rural counties they had left. When my two aunts came home from Oak Ridge for the weekend, we kids always got to go to the movies in town. The movies were about cowboys, soldiers, war, and what I will term "sophisticated urban people": men who wore suits and ties and topcoats and

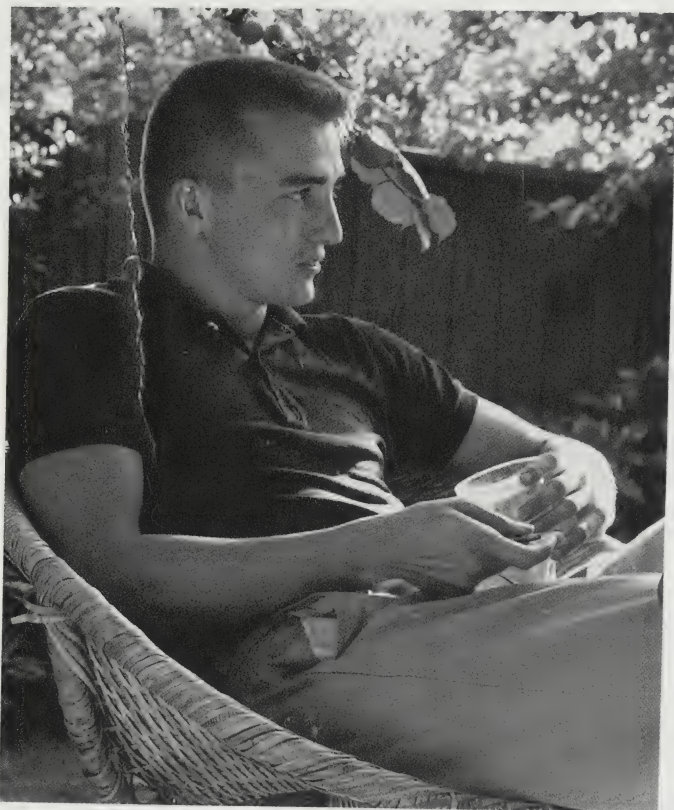
***As a fair-haired,
crew-cut
journalism
major who,
when not in
ROTC uniform,
wore white
loafers on an
as-yet
unintegrated
semi-Southern
campus, there
was certainly
no rock 'n' roll
on my radio.***

hats, and women who wore evening gowns and gloves that went all the way to their elbows. They were exotic people who used cigarette holders when they smoked and went dancing at the Stork Club every evening of their lives. In my young mind it seemed that I, too, might quite soon find myself at the Stork Club wearing a tux and dancing suavely with a beautiful lady in an evening gown. Perhaps I would be a spy in disguise, getting ready to fly "overseas" and drop by parachute "behind enemy lines" to organize

the "grillers" as we called French resistance fighters and the Russian partisan guerrillas. When America won the war (as we Americans assumed we had; noble as the Russian people were shown to be in the movies, it wasn't generally thought that they had actually done very much to whip the "Notzies"), the national euphoria was as great in Pennington Gap and Hazard as it was in New York or Los Angeles. I certainly had no psychic split regarding my identity in 1945.

I carried this pure reconciliation of local and national identity inside me well into my college years, although certain experiences in my teenage years began to give me clues that our national life was a good deal more complicated than I had understood. When my brother Jerry was killed in a car wreck at the age of 18, (I was 16, my sister Gwynne 15), the insurance company paid our family \$5,000. Our family's lawyer, who paid himself \$1,200 of the \$5,000, explained that the settlement was only \$5,000 by saying that if Jerry had been a Louisville boy instead of a Hazard boy, he would have been worth \$10,000. He actually used the word "worth." This registered in my mind in a way I did not forget, but even this sharp encounter with the national class structure did not disrupt my national identity nor interfere with my love of our national movies and national radio and the national or "popular" music of the day.

By the late 1940s I was old enough to sit in the drugstore and drink Cokes and milkshakes by myself. The drugstore jukebox was a good place to hear Bing Crosby and Frank Sinatra and Vaughn Monroe and the Glenn Miller, Benny Goodman, and Tommy Dorsey bands. As I toiled through my early teenage years in the first half of the 1950s the voices of Rosemary Clooney, Kay Starr, Jo Stafford, Teresa Brewer, Patti Page, Tony Bennett, Nat King Cole, Tony Martin, Perry Como, the McGuire Sisters, the Ames Brothers, and the Hilltoppers came to me every day at 5 p.m. on the Daily Hit Parade, a 15-minute broadcast from WCKY in Cincinnati. For years, it was unthinkable that I would miss even one of these broadcasts. In the late 1950s I was sustained in my progress through the University of Kentucky by the likes of Gale Storm, Pat Boone, Dean Martin, Andy Williams, Doris Day, the Four Aces, the Four Freshmen, the Four Tops, the Broth-



Norman in Palo Alto, Calif., 1960.

ers Four, the Diamonds, the Platters and the Crickets. As a fair-haired, crew-cut journalism major who, when not in ROTC uniform, wore white loafers on an as-yet unintegrated semi-Southern campus, there was certainly no rock 'n' roll on my radio. Rock 'n' rollers weren't communists, exactly, but they certainly tended to upset the established order of things. Even if the established order of things valued Louisville boys twice as much as Hazard boys, I still knew that it was my duty to walk tall as I crossed the campus in my ROTC uniform. Like all draft-age American males in those days of universal military training, I knew that at some time in my early 20s I would serve in the armed forces of my country. It was not an idea I resisted. On a deep personal level I wanted to be a soldier as my father and my uncles before me had been. With my scrap iron piles and war bond drives I had helped defeat fascism in the 1940s. Communism looked to be a tougher opponent because communists were hard to see. Anybody might be one. For the government to do what it had to do to maintain the national consciousness in eternal vigilance against all enemies, foreign and domestic, was certainly a legitimate priority as far as I was concerned.

had suddenly developed a taste for that tacky Bluegrass music but because, to my amazement, I had discovered in two months in Palo Alto that Bill Monroe was a major icon among the artsy-liberal-intellectual-literary university people whose good opinion I sought. This was in the seed time days of the Great Folk Music Revival in America, remember, when Bill Monroe was a primary herald for the emerging hootenanny set.

I didn't buy a Monroe album that day because, in looking for one, I came across the Folkways album called *Mountain Music of Kentucky*, the one with the picture of Roscoe Holcomb on the cover holding his banjo and looking me in the eye with a steady gaze. To my astonishment, I read in the liner notes that Roscoe and most of the other singers and players on the record were from Perry County, Ky., my very homeplace which I had left only eight or nine weeks before in my 1951 maroon eight-cylinder Ford that had only two forward gears. (First, or "low" gear as it was called in those days, had disappeared from my Ford's transmission in a grinding roar in front of the courthouse on Main Street in Hazard precisely as I was setting out for California. I was undaunted and set forth anyway. I still had two gears. When you are 23, two gears

So when did I have my big shock of recognition that, instead of (or at least in addition to) being a stalwart all-American mainstream person, I was some sort of "other" person, too? I can tell you exactly. Paul on the road to Damascus did not have a more sudden and vivid moment of recognition than I did about 4 p.m. one day while browsing in a record store in Palo Alto, Calif., soon after enrolling in the graduate writing program at Stanford University in the fall of 1960. At about the time of the second Kennedy-Nixon debate in October, I went to the store to get myself a Bill Monroe record, not because I

are quite enough to get to California on. When you are 23, you assume that you and your car both are invulnerable and that Fate is always on your side.)

Fate carried me to Palo Alto in 1960 and led me to the Roscoe Holcomb record. The very next year, Fate carried me straight back to California, to Fort Ord this time, where I served my nation for two years disguised as an infantry lieutenant. One morning in 1962, I read in the *San Francisco Chronicle* that Roscoe Holcomb was performing in a folk music festival in Berkeley that very afternoon. Asking no one's permission to leave my post, I drove the hundred miles and went to the festival and heard Rossie perform. At intermission, before Rossie's second set, I went backstage to say hello to my fellow Perry Countian. Rossie seemed glad to see me. He asked me to hold his banjo while he tuned his guitar. There I stood, in Berkeley, Calif., Lieutenant Norman of Hazard, Ky., 24-years old, absent without leave from the U.S. Army, holding the very banjo I had been listening to for over a year on my *Mountain Music of Kentucky* record. Fate did indeed seem to be guiding me along a Way I was meant to travel.

In the early fall of 1963, just before I left Fort Ord and the Army to return to Kentucky, I went to another big folk music festival at the fairgrounds in Monterey, and again Roscoe Holcomb was performing, this time alongside Doc Watson and a skinny 19-year old kid named Bob Dylan. I didn't go backstage to see Rossie this time. I intended to after his set. But before I could, the whole tenor of the festival was transformed when the master of ceremonies came to the microphone, and, to a hushed crowd of several thousand, announced that a bomb had gone off in a Negro church in Birmingham, Ala., and that children had been killed.

But I did go see Rossie at his home at Daisy, there in Perry County, when I returned to Hazard in early 1964 to work as a reporter for the *Hazard Herald* newspaper. Rossie had made a new record, and I wanted to write a story about it. I wanted to call attention to the record, but I was also curious to learn how a singer and musician as nationally famous as Roscoe Holcomb could be so little known in his own home county. What cultural forces accounted for that? Why were California

Why were California festival-goers eager to hear the old-time mountain music that the local people seemed to spurn?

festival-goers eager to hear the old-time mountain music that the local people seemed to spurn? Rossie had been playing there in Perry County as I was growing up just a few years before. Why, as a teenager, had I listened to Patti Page sing "Doggie In the Window" instead of Roscoe sing "Little Birdie?" By 1964 my personal list of questions about the relationship of our regional life in the Kentucky mountains to the mass culture of the nation, of which we proudly are a part, was long indeed.

In 1964 there was certainly no shortage of opportunities for a young newspaperman in Perry County, Ky., to pursue his curiosity about such questions. About the time I went to visit Roscoe at his home (which, incidentally, was not long after Bob Dylan had made a pilgrimage to Daisy to pay homage to Rossie), 200 college students organized by Students for a Democratic Society, SDS, came from all across the nation to attend a weekend conference on poverty at my father's old union hall at Allais. At about this same time, a group of unemployed Perry County coal miners, whose own national union had recently canceled their medical coverage, went to Washington to seek redress by picketing the White House.

Lyndon Johnson had been President two months when I returned to Hazard. Through the War on Poverty, his impact on Perry County and Eastern Kentucky was immediate and enormous. In 1964 the largest part of my job as reporter was to try to make sense of the new federal presence in my home county and the consequent attention of the national and in-

ternational media that sought to describe this "other" America to the "nation" and the world. In addition to ongoing stories and programs about the mountain region in U.S. media in 1964 and 1965, writers and television journalists from England, Canada, Poland, Romania, West Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union all came to Eastern Kentucky looking for stories. Since the local newspaper office was the first stop for visiting journalists, I met a lot of these folks, even put some of them up at my house when the hotels were full. We'd sit up and talk all night sometimes. I remember being surprised in 1964 by the degree of interest these foreign journalists had in the presence of American military advisors in Vietnam. What's the big deal there? I wondered. Wasn't President Johnson campaigning for re-election on the slogan, "We seek no wider war?" I was even more surprised by their interest in my home town and county and region. Sometimes I'd play my *Mountain Music of Kentucky* record for my foreign guests. Sometimes I'd

drive them around the county, take a whole day to cruise along obscure narrow roads that I had been passing by all my life but had never explored. These were always intense experiences for me because, in addition to seeing much of my own local world for the first time, I was simultaneously seeing it through European eyes.

Every two or three weeks, when the intensity of life in Perry County became too great, I would leave Hazard and drive in my Volkswagen across Pine Mountain and Black Mountain to Lee County, Va., where Grandma and Grandad and my mother and my Uncle Holly still lived. As interesting as life had become for me in the general thick of things unfolding in Kentucky, I remember my weekends at Grandma's and Grandad's as my truly

best times in those years. There they still were, Grandma in her late 70s, Grandad up in his 80s, and my mother, out of the hospital now, and my aunts and uncles, and my sister and her husband and children who came home on frequent weekends the same as me, the same as always. Sometimes there'd be eight or 10 of us home for the weekend at once. We would talk about the news some, the nation and the world. But mostly our talk was about the family itself, about each other, a lot of it sweet storytelling, remembering the old days.



Gurney Norman is author of *Divine Rights Trip*, a novel first published in *The Last Whole Earth Catalog* in 1970. One of the stories in his collection, *Kinfolks*, has been turned in to a film, *Fat Monroe*. Another story from *Kinflicks* has been made into a film, *Night Ride*, and is reviewed on page 46. Norman teaches creative writing at the University of Kentucky.

Morality Play

We grew up by The Mountains of Forgotten. It Never Happened Swamp spread out beside The Importance River. Downstream from Why, the folks in Never worked in Silence. During the swarming summer months, the folks in Maybe, upstream from Now, sauntered through the insect dusk with nothing but nothing at all to trouble their sleepy evenings. I work today in the tepid ooze of Twilight, near the smoky hills of Possibly, way down stream from What The Hell, and collect my mail beneath the fly-traps at a crumbling story in Distant Yearning.

—Jim Leftwich

Jim Leftwich lives and works in Charlottesville, Va., with his wife and their two children. He and poet Ken Harris edit *JUXTA*, a small poetry journal, the first issue of which is due out this summer.

Jo Carson's Los Angeles Cycle

"You're just a tourist with a typewriter, Barton. I live here. You come into my home, and you complain that I'm making too much noise."

— salesman to "playwright of the people" in Joel and Ethan Coen's 1991 film, *Barton Fink*

When *The Kentucky Cycle*, an epic drama by Robert Schenkkan of Los Angeles, won the Pulitzer Prize in 1992, many people in Appalachia were troubled. The play, which was filled with murder and mayhem, purported to show 200 years of Eastern Kentucky history. The playwright, who had spent two days touring Eastern Kentucky and who used little else than the 1962 book, Harry Caudill's *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, as his research material, said the play was not meant to represent Kentucky; it was a representation of the ugly history of capitalism in America. Many Kentuckians were offended, however. There was at least one murder in most of the *Cycle's* nine short plays, and an overwhelming dose of treachery, cruelty, and violence.

Despite only a brief run on Broadway, *The Kentucky Cycle's* widespread attention has resulted in serious repercussions. Part of the fallout is Jo Carson, who has suddenly felt compelled to veer away from her work dealing with regional matters.

(These efforts include her recent play, *The Bear Facts*, which has to do with Davy Crockett, *Preacher With a Horse to Ride*, a prize-winning drama

about author Theodore Dreiser's trip to the Eastern Kentucky coalfields in 1931, and another prize-winning play, *Daytrips*, a work about her family.)

Carson says that Robert Schenkkan's success with *The Kentucky Cycle* has opened her eyes to certain possibilities and opportunities. She is determined to move in a new and more profitable direction and is at work on a new play. She recently talked with *Now & Then* about the project.

Now & Then: I understand that you're writing a play about the history of Los Angeles.

Jo Carson: Well, I've been inspired. There is, as you may know, a play that's just closed on Broadway called *The Kentucky Cycle*, and it seems to me that, because more people live in Los Angeles than live in Eastern Kentucky, it might be more relevant to do a *Los Angeles Cycle*.

The Kentucky Cycle consists of nine short plays, and I figure *The Los Angeles Cycle* ought to have about nine short plays in it, too. All of them have a killing in them. *The Kentucky Cycle* won the Pulitzer Prize, and I personally plan on winning at least a Pulitzer Prize with this play.

Now & Then: What is this play about?

Carson: Two hundred years of Los Angeles history. Los Angeles is an extraordinarily violent place, but then, you know about that.

Probably seven of the plays end up with a drive-by killing on the freeway. I figure the first one happens on what's going to be the Pasadena Freeway in 200 years, but it's a ride-by shoot 'em up. The play ends with an earthquake.

Now & Then: What happens in the earthquake?

Carson: Los Angeles falls into the Pacific Ocean.

Now & Then: *The Kentucky Cycle* wasn't about Kentucky according to the author; it was about capitalism and the destructiveness of capitalism, that America has a dark and terrible history that we're all re-



Pat Arnou

Jo Carson and her horse, Kate, contemplate a ride-by shooting.

sponsible for. Can you say something about the larger message of your play?

Carson: Well, I think the automobile has an equally dark and terrible history, and I firmly believe that it's represented in the drive-by shootings in Los Angeles on the freeway.

Now & Then: I understand you've spent some time in Los Angeles.

Carson: Oh, I have been to Los Angeles. I have spent almost two months total in Los Angeles. And I understand the author of *The Kentucky Cycle* spent two days in Eastern Kentucky. So I feel infinitely more prepared. I figure about 58 days more preparation.

Now & Then: What you saw there inspired you?

Carson: Well the truth was, I didn't actually see any drive-by shootings. But I did see a lot of freeway.

Now & Then: Are you afraid that with all the violence you intend to portray, you might encounter some criticism of your portrayal of Californians?

Carson: I have to write my vision as I see it. Everybody in Los Angeles drives on the freeway. Everybody. Except the homeless, of course, and they walk on the freeway. In fact, one of the plays involves a movie producer who's talking on his cellular phone and runs over a homeless person on the freeway right before he gets shot.

Now & Then: Is he shot by a stranger or by someone who knows him?

Carson: I suspect that one's by a stranger.

Now & Then: It's a bloody justice.

Carson: Well, kind of. Karma. C-A-R-M-A, not K-A-R-M-A.

Now & Then: Are you doing research on this project?

Carson: Jan Hearne's* written an amazing book called *Only in California*. The subtitle is *Fabulous Facts, Weird Happenings, and Eccentric Ephemera from America's Most Altered State*. (Reads) "During the summer of 1987, there were more than 20 traffic-related shootings, including four fatalities on L.A. Freeways. One firm began offering car signs saying, 'Please Don't Shoot.'" "A stray dog wandered onto the Harbor Freeway during rush hour traffic. Cars began backing up as the frantic puppy tried to find a way out. No problem, the California Highway Patrol stepped in and took control. As motorists watched in disbelief, the CHP officer ran over the dog."

Now & Then: These are true stories from California?

Carson: Yes. "A Sunland woman determined to end it all by jumping from a forty-foot bridge was pulled away from the precipice by a Good Samaritan. In the struggle, the woman fell five feet and was knocked unconscious. The Samaritan grabbed her purse and ran away. 'There is no way of telling what his intent was,' a police officer said. 'He did prevent her from jumping but whether that was because he was a Good Samaritan or just wanted her purse, we can't tell.'"



Robert Schenkkan's *The Kentucky Cycle* at the Royale Theater on Broadway

Now & Then: You're not worried that some people in Los Angeles might take it wrong that you're going to be writing about them?

Carson: Oh, but it's not about Los Angeles; it's about the whole automobile problem in this country. There are drive-by killings in Florida, too.

Now & Then: Well, that's true. But you don't think that Californians will object to being shown in a bad light?

Carson: Well, they do have all those freeways.

— Interview by Pat Arnow



**Editor's Note: Jan Hearne is an East Tennessean who has actually lived in California. Her work has appeared in *Now & Then*. *Only in California* is published by Plume, a division of NAL/Dutton.*

Chafin of Cow Creek

Topper Sherwood

“Oh, Lordy, the things we done!”

Raymond Chafin’s friend, dressed in a plaid shirt and mismatched slacks, grins at his one-time boss as they reminisce. The two wait in line at Logan’s McDonald’s, proudly installed in 1989. The eatery’s bright tile floors and walls are antiseptically clean in comparison to everything outside, lightly dusted with years of particulate coal. Behind the royal-blue counter, teenagers take Saturday-morning breakfast orders from a slightly larger crowd of adults, including Chafin and his former precinct worker.

“We sure had us a time, didn’t we?” Chafin encourages.

“Oh, Lordy!” the other repeats, slapping his loud thigh. “The things we done!”

As if he can hardly believe it himself.

Later, Chafin confides that the other fellow had never been a “money man.”

“He just loved the work. Most of ’em worked an election for the sheer pleasure of it back then. They’d help out, and when they needed a favor I’d help ’em back. People was honored to be an election officer. You didn’t have to pay them nothing in them days!”

Raymond Chafin, 77 years old, has been active in West Virginia politics for almost 50 years. During that time, he’s “delivered” votes for sheriffs, state governors and, in 1960, a U.S. president.

Chafin accepted his first political job in 1936, when he was hired to guard the police chief of Logan Township. The man was campaigning for sheriff, and he wasn’t always popular, so Chafin served

first his political faction as a bodyguard.

“I was a young man then,” Chafin remembers. “And I was a pretty mean one, too.”

“Meanness” was almost a requirement for politics in the Logan of that time. Chafin describes it as a place of political deals, double crosses, and intimidation. He himself carried some political bag-

Votes have been traded for money, whiskey, and jobs.

gage into this new world — his name. He is only distantly related, however, to the infamous Sheriff Don Chafin, whose term ended in 1924 with a federal conviction on prohibition charges. Before that, Don Chafin had made national news by using coal-company funds to maintain a veritable army of deputies who doubled as “mine guards.” Chafin’s guards insured — often violently — that any would-be union organizer stayed clear of Logan County. They saw to it that the sheriff’s political favors were delivered to his many supporters and, says Raymond, they also worked the polls for him on election day. Thus, when someone needed patronage in Logan County, Don Chafin made sure that he was always the man to see.

Raymond Chafin says federal legitimizing of union membership in the 1930s changed much

of that. The United Mine Workers quickly became a new force, not just in the workplace but at the polling place as well.

“After the Roosevelt years, nobody tried to thump or kill anyone like they did in the old days,” says the seasoned politician. “If you’d done that, the UMW would have turned on you. They would have voted you out.”

In *Just Good Politics*, a biography co-authored by this writer, Chafin describes how precinct workers won, coaxed, and bought votes for their slates. He tells about elections where faction leaders had people *inside* the polling place. (“Some of those boys could fill out a ballot faster than a chicken pickin’ up corn.”) If a voter wanted reimbursement for cooperating with a ruling faction, the sympathetic election officer marked his or her slate or gave a hand signal to workers outside, where the cooperative voter was paid. Votes have been traded for money, whiskey, and jobs.

Such was Logan County in 1960, when John F. Kennedy and Hubert H. Humphrey came to West Virginia, both of them desperate for victory in the May

... a group of well-heeled Kennedy supporters offered Chafin money to put Kennedy’s name at the top of his slate — the weighty Chafin endorsement.

presidential primary. Raymond Chafin remembers it well. As county Democratic

chairman, he was holding the best political cards. He was constantly courted by Kennedy's team and, on two occasions, by Kennedy himself.

"He was one of the best politicians I ever met," says Chafin. "He was a good talker; he had the best staff I'd ever seen, and he had his whole family with him. People in this county hadn't ever seen anything like the Kennedys. People around here just loved them."

Sen. Humphrey, of Minnesota, was politically progressive and enjoyed strong ties to West Virginia labor leaders and other influential Democrats. Kennedy, however, also boasted a good labor record in the Senate and had a strong, well-funded organization in West Virginia. The main issue that appeared to set the two men apart — more so in West Virginia than anywhere previous — was Kennedy's Catholicism, which was widely believed to make him "unelectable." Everywhere he went in the Mountain State, JFK felt compelled to defend his faith.

"The fact that I was born a Catholic," he told one Charleston crowd, "does that mean I can't be president of the United States? I'm able to serve in Congress; and my brother was able to give his life for this country, but we can't be president?..."

The religion issue turned out to be something of a red herring, however. Kennedy's popularity forced Chafin and scores of other local leaders to turn away from Humphrey. In part, this was because of a tactic explained by Robert McDonough, Kennedy's campaign chairman in West Virginia.

"What we wanted to find out," McDonough said in a 1964 interview, "was what group [in a county] was the strongest ... [W]hen we couldn't ally with the strongest, then we would take the weakest and try to make it the strongest ..."

The Kennedy campaign was fast and



Courtesy of University of Pittsburgh Press

Hubert Humphrey (left) campaigns for president at the Smoke House Restaurant, Logan County, W.Va., 1960, with Raymond Chafin and two waitresses.

smooth. His many personal appearances and his increasing popularity had made him impossible to ignore. The state's best political bosses were quick to catch on. Chafin eventually recognized that Humphrey's name on his slate was a liability.

"He sold me," Chafin says of the future president. "How could I not be sold on him? I wanted him to win."

Later a group of well-heeled Kennedy supporters offered Chafin money to put Kennedy's name at the top of his slate — the weighty Chafin endorsement. Chafin says he accepted the cash and spent it all on the election-day campaign in each of more than 100 Logan County precincts.

"We doubled and tripled the amounts we were putting into each precinct."

Kennedy won the West Virginia primary by a landslide. Even before all the votes were counted, Hubert Humphrey dropped out of the presidential race.

Kennedy later said he had no doubt that "West Virginia nominated the Democratic presidential candidate." His victory had proven to national bosses, as well as to voters, that he could beat the "religion issue" in an overwhelmingly Protestant state.

Although a strong candidate, Humphrey simply didn't have an organization that could understand, approach, and capture the interest of West Virginia's political leaders in the way Kennedy's staff could. Humphrey especially criticized Kennedy's use of money in the West Virginia primary.

"I can't afford to run around this state with a little black bag and a checkbook," the Minnesota senator complained. "I can't afford to buy an election."

Suggestions that John Kennedy "bought" West Virginia make Raymond Chafin's political blood

boil.

"He sure didn't buy Logan County," the mountaineer says with conviction. "I'd decided to be for him well before anybody started talking about any money..."

In any case, Kennedy never forgot his debt to West Virginians. The Mountain State did well by the president it had helped to elect. Federal improvements were made on rural roads, public buildings, miner's health programs and food subsidies. The anti-poverty projects that grew under Johnson's administration had been born under his predecessor.

But the nature of politics changed too. Every presidential candidate, for example, knows the political yardage that can be gained by a good moment on television. They also know the value of making face-to-face contact with voters in the hustings, as opposed to manipulating the national bosses in the back rooms of the



John F. Kennedy with Senator Dan B. Fleming and Dan B. Fleming Jr. in Parkersburg, W.Va., April 1960.

Review

Kennedy vs. Humphrey, West Virginia, 1960 The Pivotal Battle for the Democratic Presidential Nomination

Dan B. Fleming Jr.
McFarland & Co., Inc.
Box 611, Jefferson, NC 28640
1992
\$25.95 (hardback)

The West Virginia Democratic presidential primary of 1960 between John F. Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey proved that a Roman Catholic could win, and win big, in a predominantly Protestant state. This brought the presidency within Kennedy's reach. It was an important moment in U.S. politics, and that is why Dan Fleming has devoted a book to that singular campaign.

Fleming draws on material from more than 80 personal interviews he conducted with people who played a part in the political drama in West Virginia. These include Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., Sargent Shriver, Theodore Sorenson, Ken Hechler, and Raymond Chafin. Various informants provide different versions of some of the same moments of the campaign. The stories are sometimes complementary, sometimes contradictory. These variations lend an air of authenticity considering the subject is politics.

Fleming does not attribute Kennedy's success only to money or to well-oiled campaign machinery. He does believe, "While the Kennedys engaged in practices in West Virginia that in retrospect seem very unsavory, they played the game as they found it and did what they thought it took to win."

Besides paving the way to victory for Kennedy, the author believes that West Virginia was a breakthrough for religious freedom. "A political taboo had been removed from the national political scene," he writes.

— Pat Arnow

from Kennedy vs. Humphrey by Dan B. Fleming

"A simple anecdote by a popular public official in West Virginia, Ken Hechler, offers some insight into why Kennedy won. Hechler, torn between his past ties to Humphrey and a liking of Kennedy, remained neutral in the primary and assisted both candidates. One weekend during the primary campaign, he attended a meeting of the Kennedy top leaders including Robert and Ted Kennedy and the Kennedy regional leaders from around the state. He was tremendously impressed as he watched their efficiency and crispness of reporting in what needed to be done and who would do what, and 'their spirit and organization was great.' The following week, he accompanied Senator Humphrey and aide Robert Barrie as they campaigned in Boone County. As they were riding in an elevator, he recalled, Hubert Humphrey asked in a worried voice, 'Do we have a table for our literature where I speak?' Hechler said the contrast of the two campaigns could not have been more clearly illustrated than in the two scenes he witnessed."



Topper Sherwood's work has appeared in *Time*, *Business Week*, *Mother Jones*, and other publications. He is proprietor of Appalachian Editions, a publisher of Appalachia-related books. Sherwood is also Artist Projects Coordinator for Arts and Humanities for the West Virginia Division of Culture and History. *Just Good Politics: The Life of Raymond Chafin, Appalachian Boss* by Raymond Chafin and Topper Sherwood is forthcoming from University of Pittsburgh Press.

I Am a Kennedy Man

*A high-ranking public official in West Virginia told this story to author Denise Giardina. He said it was true. She fictionalized the county name and made it one of her character's stories in her novel, **The Unquiet Earth**, which uses some recent West Virginia history as its backdrop. The book is a sequel to **Storming Heaven**, Giardina's novel of the early coal mining days in West Virginia culminating in the Battle of Blair Mountain in 1921.*

I am a Kennedy man. Wasn't always. Early in that 1960 election, used to support Hubert Humphrey. Familiar as an old hound dog, Hubert. Knew how things was done. Wasn't so sure about Kennedy. Didn't care for how he played up his religion, making out how if dumb ignorant hillbillies would vote for a Catholic, anybody would. Made him look good when he won. Hell, that is politics. But Kennedy had all the network TV cameras poking around here looking for "poverty," like it had ever been lost. That disturbed the peace and quiet.

Then the Kennedy people called from Charleston and asked why all they ever saw in Justice County was Humphrey signs.

"Because it's my county." My feet was up on my desk.

"I'd like to send someone to see you," said this Yankee-sounding voice.

"Waste of time."

"He'll bring money to help with your local campaigns. But only if you promise to take down every Humphrey sign in the county and shut Hubert out."

Chewed on the end of a pencil for a while. "How much?"

"How much do you need?"

"Thirty-two." Always think big.

"Twenty-eight," said the Yankee.

Know how it is when you're fishing and that bob takes a dive and you feel the tug?

"Thirty-one."

"Twenty-nine," he said. "That's my last offer."

"You got a deal. Twenty-nine."

"Good. I'll send my man down on Monday. If he sees one Humphrey sign, he heads back to Charleston with the cash."

Told my buddies on the Democrat committee. Hollered laughing and I said, "Boys, twenty-nine hundred dollars is twice what Hubert's paying. But that aint the point. They know how it's done and this proves it. And they got more of what you need to do it with, so why not?"

They got the general drift. Come Monday, man in a pinstripe suit showed up at the coal company office with a briefcase.

"Like the scenery?" I said.

"Lovely. Coal mines and Kennedy signs. But we expect more than signs."

"I know what you expect. Told you it's my county."

"Good." He set the briefcase on the floor and left. I locked the office door and opened the briefcase. Stared at the stacks of cash, new and crisp, you would not expect old bills from a Kennedy. It took my breath away and my fingers trembled when I started to count.

Called my Democrat vice-chairman. "Herman?" I said. I was so tickled I wanted to drag it out. "Herman? You setting down? You know that twenty-nine hundred? It's twenty-nine thousand!"

That one called for a cigar. Cuban, one of the last I ever smoked. Slickered people often enough, but that was the first time without trying. I became a born-again Kennedy man, from admiration and from pity.

— Denise Giardina

The Unquiet Earth was published by W.W. Norton in 1992. This excerpt is used by permission of the author.

But are they funny?

Postcards from the Edge of Good Taste

by Pat Arnow

In the range from perfectly disgusting to completely benign, most of the postcards by Tom Mills occupy a place close to the middle. That makes them a good litmus test. They can be used to explore the images of Appalachia that have entered popular culture, what those images mean, and if these images are destructive or positive — or possibly both.

I asked various people. Their reactions provide insight into issues about Appalachian culture and its place in the larger world. I also spoke with the person who conceived and produced the cards, Tom Mills.

When I first saw the Mills postcards in a rack at the back of Boone Drugs in Boone, N.C., I laughed out loud. Then I thought, "Oh oh, I probably shouldn't be laughing at these." But I bought some anyway: "Appalachian Romance" — a man kissing his pickup truck, "Appalachian Walkman" — a man with headphones marching on the road hauling a man in a wagon playing a banjo and singing into a microphone that is wired to the headset, "Appalachian Cellular Phone" — a man in a pickup truck holding to his ear a tin can with an aerial on it, "Appalachian pinata" — a family clapping wildly as a boy tries to knock a hornet's nest out of a tree.

I brought the cards to the office and showed them around. One or two people laughed. A couple of others thought the cards were offensive. I tried to find out the source of people's delight or discomfort.

Tim Stafford, who recently won a Grammy Award for his work on *Every Time You Say Goodbye* by the bluegrass band Alison Kraus and Union Station, laughed when he saw the cards, but his



Brian Blausier

comment was, "We're still easy to bash." He admitted, "They're funny — yet unfortunate."

Norma Myers, head of the Archives of Appalachia at East Tennessee State University, had her own objection to the card of the man hitchhiking in an auto junkyard called "Appalachian optimist." "It's an oxymoron. There is no such thing as an Appalachian optimist," she said. And she put her own twist on "Appalachian pinata." She believed it was actually a picture of mountaineers tricking gullible Yankees into knocking down the hornet's nest.

Jerry Williamson, whose book, *Hillbillyland*, is forthcoming from University of North Carolina Press, writes that hillbilly souvenirs (which includes work such as these postcards) are not bought by "upwardly-sashaying urban class, the managers, the professionals, the office warriors." They are bought and enjoyed by "stuck-working people, and they

get the joke. The hillbilly takes his durn ease right in the middle of all these working people. He gives the horse-laugh to middle-class respectability. He's absurdly and delightfully free."

Joe Corso, who teaches political science at ETSU, looked at the cards and judged that "They're not bad humor," but he said he was concerned that "this kind of humor is destructive. They're all based on stereotypes."

There is a place for such humor, he said, remembering the ethnic neighborhood in Chicago where he was raised. The mix of cultures brought out jokes. "We used all the nicknames. We used all the stereotypes." This wasn't destructive, he thought, because all of the people he knew, no matter what their ethnic origin, were in similar social and economic circumstances. The jokes in school "oiled the machinery" of relationships between people who did not share an obvious

see *Postcards* on page 20

Stereotypes — “It’s not in the cards. I try to just make them funny.”

Tom Mills

Tom Mills has lived in Southeast Ohio near Athens for more than 17 years. He teaches printing and graphic arts at a vocational high school in Nelsonville, Ohio. In 1987, Mills started photographing and printing humorous black-and-white postcards with captions. The models were friends and family. Soon he asked a local photographer, Brian Blauser, to take the pictures. It is to Blauser that he credits the technical quality and professional look. The production and sales of the postcards quickly expanded. Today Mills sells a line of 37 cards to some 150 outlets throughout the region — and beyond. We spoke on the phone about his postcard business.

— Pat Arnow

I was born and grew up in Columbus and then moved to Southeast Ohio in the mid-1970s and would never go back. I love it down here. It’s great to be able to look out your window and see the pasture with the cows in it and the barn instead of city streets.

The first cards were actually Ohio University ones in ’87. They were some ideas I had, silliness. I printed 1,000 of four, and then my wife and a friend of hers and myself went out to different stores to see if they would buy them, and they did.

The second year was when the “We’re dirty but not poor” one came out [with a family on the porch of a rundown house]. There was that one and “Appalachian humor” [a man holding two fingers up behind a woman’s head]. And I added more Ohio University ones. But the ones that sold the best turned out to be the Appalachian ones.

In none of them am I trying to make fun of anyone. The idea — I don’t mean to sound pious or anything — but I really

have to give credit to God on these because the humor is, it just comes from inside my head, not that I think them up — it’s there — and I’m a Christian, and I really think that God has blessed me with a sense of humor.

The ideas, they usually just come. Sometimes other people will suggest things. The speed bump card — I was talking to a friend who had just broken up with her husband, and she wanted to do a book called 101 uses for an ex-husband, and one of the uses was speed bump. I said, hey, that’s funny. Do you mind if I use it on a postcard? And she said no.

I was going to do one, I don’t know what the picture is yet, but I’ve got to do Appalachian politically correct.

I’m in a few of them. People call me now and ask if they can be in them. I always take their names and call them if I have a need. (It’s) local people around Athens. There’s one card, it has maybe 10 people, and they’re all pointing at the camera and laughing hysterically. The caption is, “We’re not laughing with you ...” One of the ladies who’s in there just called one day and said that she had seen my cards, that they were really

funny, and if I ever needed a 65-year-old lady in one to let her know.

A lot of other teachers are in them. The Walkman, those people are teachers. The one kicking his heels up is 55. He’s an accounting instructor. The guy in the wagon is the carpentry instructor.

In the pinata one — that was my wife’s idea — the family is really a family. They’re from our church. I asked the family if they would do it, and that was another kind of uplift. When I told her [the mother in the family] what the card was, she didn’t know if that would go against her feelings on things. She prayed about it, and she said that God said that it was all right. I don’t know if she meant out loud, but she felt at peace with that, and it really made me feel more positive. I don’t want to step on people. Humor, when you look at it, is always pointing at something. Any joke you hear, somebody is being made a joke of. There’s always the person who’s funny in a joke.

Like I said, I’m not trying to make fun of anybody. It’s silly humor. The Walkman shot, that’s just silly. “Appalachian Walkman” sounds better than “Country Walkman.” I don’t know what



Tom Mills poses for one of his postcards.

Brian Blauser

else you'd put in there.

A friend of mine went to Cass, W.Va. He bought a genuine G-E-N-U-W-I-N-E hillbilly calendar. And in it was a lot of alky jokes. And they had one shot of the family opening Paw's new Christmas present, and Paw had gotten a new shotgun, and he was real happy about that, and the kids were there, and all the kids were smoking corncob pipes. And it just had these stereotype things. I really try not to have anything in here you could class as stereotypic; it's not in the cards. I try to

just make them funny.

You don't see outhouses. No alcohol.

You don't see outhouses. No alcohol. No hillbillies carrying the jug. Nobody smoking corncob pipes.

No hillbillies carrying the jug. I don't have the whiskey humor. Nobody smoking corncob pipes.

They sell best in West Virginia. I have

one fellow in Huntington who buys them by the many thousand and resells them.

He drives around and has like a route. I guess he's sold, I bet it's 30 some thousand this year.

One thing I've noticed is people who don't have much of a sense of humor are bothered by them. I don't mean that negatively. I've got a really good friend, and I was talking to him about how people are bothered by (some cards). He said the same thing; he thought they were belittling. He wasn't much of a laugher.

Postcards, from page 18

common ground. "The humor helps. It's a common bond."

But the jokes made about Appalachians, he said, target "a largely disadvantaged group." The jokes "are at the expense of someone."

Writer Jo Carson agrees. "Part of what they make fun of is poverty, which I don't find to be particularly funny." She wonders how acceptable the postcards would be if the card read "Native American Walkman," or "Polish Walkman" or "Black Walkman." That she would find offensive, and she doesn't see that "Appalachian Walkman" is any less offensive.

Jean Speer, director of the Center for Appalachian Studies and Services said, "I find them funny, and I don't find them overly offensive. They're clever. That's not to say I don't think they might not do

some damage being sold out there commercially. The problem with Appalachian images is that any of them have the potential to reinforce what people like to feel about the region."

But Speer, who has been thinking about humor and Appalachia for years in her work as a folklorist and Appalachian scholar, believes that these cards rise above the purely crass depictions she has seen. "It's clear that this is a culture poking fun at itself. It's as though the culture says that we know that people say these things about us and so now we have taken them and made them funny ourselves.

"You see it all the time in black comics and Jewish comics — they take what they know what people think is true about their own culture, and they use that as the source of their jokes because what they're saying is, 'I know that this is what you think, and what I'm going to do is show

you the absurdity of it because I take it to the extreme, and I also show that I'm comfortable enough that I can laugh at it and I can use it as a source of humor.'"

Jerry Williamson concurs. On the phone from Appalachian State University where he is the editor of *Appalachian Journal*, he said, "There's a kind of reversal of expectation there that's fun and also strangely empowering. I think that's how this school got the hillbilly mascot in 1942. Those were kids that were stung by the implication that they were hicks, so they turned it around. It's energizing, makes them feel good. It's people at home who under normal circumstances might be labeled this way, who adopt it as a form of defiance."

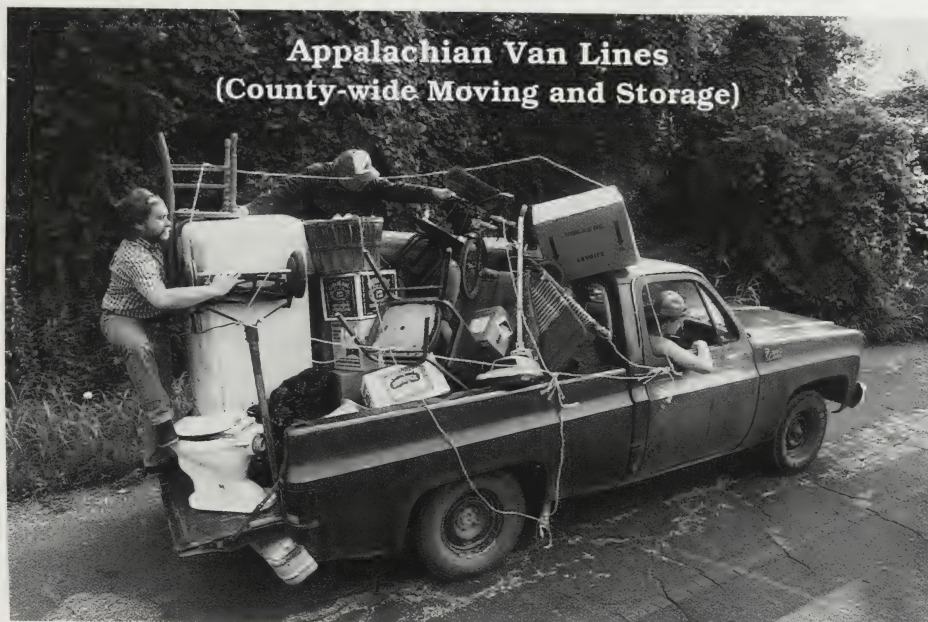
There is a limit to the extent these depictions should go, but there was some hesitation about drawing the line in the sand. "It's very complicated. You can get too politically correct about this. How sensitive do we have to be?" said Corso.

Speer doesn't worry too much about any of the humorous depictions of the culture. She has trouble with the image on another front: "What I find a lot more offensive is when people purport to be making serious depictions of Appalachian and use the same set of stereotypes — and sometimes in more sophisticated ways. To me that does a lot more damage, when there's news reporting on the region that makes some set of cultural assumptions based on these old ideas, and yet, reports those as news."



Pat Arnow, once a faithful reader of *Mad Magazine*, still loves humor wherever she can find it.

Appalachian Van Lines (County-wide Moving and Storage)



Brian Blauser

Scandal Sheet

Political scandal is not confined to Appalachia. Huey Long, Adam Clayton Powell, the first Richard Daley — none of these politicians was Appalachian. But the hills have seen their share of official monkey business, and here are some of the shenanigans pulled by top bananas with results sometimes funny, sometimes tragic, always outrageous.

Manchin in the blue sky

A. James Manchin, a Democrat, was a staple of West Virginia politics for almost four decades. He won reelection to the post of state treasurer in 1988. A month later, it was revealed that the Treasury Department's \$1.2 billion Consolidated Investment Fund had lost over \$200 million. According to legislative audits, Manchin's office had filed false statements of CIF's fiscal condition, traded above legal limits, and had used some of its capital to pay to participants higher dividends than the fund was earning. Manchin, a self-styled "West Virginia patriot and public servant," immediately retired upon learning that the state legislature had voted to impeach him. In the same scandal, Associate Treasurer Arnold Margolin was found guilty of distributing false investment statements and was sentenced to 18 months in jail. The fund's investment manager, Kathryn Lester, was asked to resign. She now runs a pre-school in a Charleston, W. Va., church and works as a paralegal. Manchin did not go to jail. He still lives and works in West Virginia.

Drunk on power

Tennesseean Andrew Johnson was one of only two senators from the southern border states who did not defect to the Confederate government. He was rewarded by being made military governor of Tennessee after the state was occupied by the Union army, and he became Lincoln's vice-president in 1864. He didn't like slavery or abolition, but he did seem to like whiskey as he gave a drunken inaugural address. He gave a more sober address when he assumed the office of the slain Lincoln. His frequent inebriation caused consternation, but it was his autocratic dismissal of Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton which drew the ire of Congress. In March 1868, an impeachment committee charged that Johnson had violated the Tenure of Office Act and had conspired to seize War Department property. The Senate voted 35 to impeach, 19 to retain -- one vote shy of removal from office. This experience daunted neither his political fervor nor his electability. He won another term in the Senate in 1874.

Robber Barron

William W. Barron, a Democrat, was governor of West Virginia from 1961 to 1965. In 1968 he and five other men — ex-state Road Commissioner Burl A. Sawyers, ex-Deputy Road Commissioner Vincent J. Johnkoski, attorney Bonn Brown, and Alfred W. Schroath, a Clarksburg, W. Va., auto dealer, and ex-state Finance Commissioner Truman E. Gore — were indicted on charges of conspiracy to commit bribery. According to the charges, the three commissioners, appointed by Barron, planned to award state contracts to firms who would be asked to make payments to organizations set up by Schroath. Brown and Schroath recruited the companies and the defendants shared equally in the payments. A federal jury in Charleston convicted Sawyers, Johnkoski, Brown and Schroath. Gore's lawyer had become ill, and a mistrial was declared in Gore's case. Barron was acquitted.

In 1970 Barron and Gore were again charged with bribery and conspiracy, along with 30 others, including State Sen. W. Bernard Smith and Clerk of the Senate J. Howard Myers. Barron pled guilty to paying \$25,000 to influence the vote of the foreman of the jury that had acquitted him two years before. Barron's wife was accused of delivering the bribe to the wife of Ralph Buckalew, the jury foreman. The federal prosecutor requested that the charges against Ms. Barron be dropped, but her husband and Buckalew didn't fare so well. Buckalew was sentenced to 12 years in prison. Barron was also sentenced to 12 years in prison and ordered to pay a \$50,000 fine. Barron now lives in Florida, far from the state capitol where his photograph still hangs.

Where's Alexander Haig when you need him?

In 1888 Republican Nathan Goff opposed Democrat A.B. Fleming for the governorship of West Virginia. The initial returns indicated that Goff had won by 100 or so votes. Goff took the oath of office. Fleming cried fraud, declared himself the real winner and took the oath of office. E. Willis Wilson, who was current governor, declared that he should retain his seat while the

legislature decided who was the new governor. Robert Carr, president of the state senate, claimed Wilson's term was up and therefore he, Carr, was governor pro tem. Eventually the predominantly Democratic legislature granted Fleming the office.

The Old Man Studies the Election

He cut the sound off
and watched the picture,
mind back when voting meant
men you knew would come round

to shake hands or check on crops,
eat with you on Country Church Day,
joke about the one-eyed mule
you bought for a good one.

Sometimes you knew them that well,
sometimes just that one was a Smith
and the other a Lockwood,
and that was enough.

He turned the sound back up
in time to hear the one
cry foul, demand issues
instead of personal attacks.

The old man cocked his thumb,
aimed his finger,
and shot the whiner
between the eyes.

In his neighborhood
issues didn't mean that much
and you didn't judge the man's campaign
but his character—

you might be a jackass
or not too smart,
but you had to be able
to live in the light.

He cut off the set and went to bed
thinking how only neighbors
have ever made it work,
how knowing means more than words.

— **David Black**

*David Black is finishing a stint as poetry editor of **Books for You** published by the National Council of Teachers of English. His poems were recently featured in **Appalachian Journal**. He teaches English at Louisa County High School in Virginia.*

Murder will out

In 1969, political watchdog Ralph Nader exposed widespread corruption in the administration of Tony Boyle, president of the United Mine Workers. Nader then helped to recruit Joseph "Jock" Yablonski, a member of Boyle's cabinet, to run against Boyle in his bid for reelection. During the campaign Nader, hearing that Yablonski had some skeletons in his own closet, withdrew from Yablonski's circle. Three weeks after the election Yablonski, his wife, and daughter were found shot to death. Years later Boyle was convicted of plotting the murder of the Yablonskis by hired killers and incurred three consecutive life sentences. He died May 31, 1985, in a hospital near the prison in Wilkes Barre, Pa.

Chafin at the reins

When the miners of Logan County, W. Va., struck against outside coal operators in 1921, their most hostile opposition came from within their own county. Sheriff Don Chafin used money he received from coal companies to hire deputies to quell the activities of union organizers. About 5,000 miners marched to confront Chafin, who fought the Battle of Blair Mountain with seeming relish. He hired aviators to drop bombs, bribed or bullied prisoners into fighting with him, and used land mines against the red-bandana-wearing (redneck) strikers. Chafin was never punished for these misdeeds. He did, however, serve two months of a two-year jail sentence for violating Prohibition by trafficking in liquor. Chafin reentered politics as a lobbyist for coal interests in the West Virginia legislature. He died a wealthy man in 1954.

Self-sentenced

Marshall G. Honaker had been sheriff of Bristol, Va., for almost 20 years and was President of the National Sheriffs Association. On January 22, 1992, a grand jury began investigating reports that Honaker had embezzled \$370,000 from money paid to house out-of-town prisoners in the local jail. Next day the 55-year-old Honaker went to his office and killed himself with his 12-gauge shotgun.

A fortune Butchered

Jacob Franklin "Jake" Butcher, one-time Democratic candidate for Tennessee governor and an organizer of the 1982 Knoxville World's Fair, controlled (with his brother) 26 banks and had an estimated personal worth of \$400 million. In 1983 he went broke. Eleven of his banks were declared insolvent. In 1984 a federal grand jury in Knoxville charged Butcher with illegally borrowing more than \$7 million to finance an Alabama mining company in which he owned a 75 percent interest. He was also accused of using forgery and fictitious names to borrow \$7.9 million. The \$400,000 yacht he bought with that money was destined for drydocking. Butcher was sentenced to 20 years in prison.

Arch-criminal

Arch A. Moore Jr., called "King Arch" by his admirers, left office in 1989 after three terms as governor of West Virginia. In 1990 he was indicted on federal charges of mail fraud, tax fraud, extortion, and obstruction of justice. He pled guilty to filing false income tax returns, extorting \$573,000 from coal-company officials, and diverting state funds to his campaigns. He admitted receiving and trying to cover up at least \$100,000 in illegal contributions to his 1984 campaign and using his office to give political favors to campaign donors. The Republican Moore was sentenced to five years and 10 months in prison and a \$170,000 fine. During the scandal, someone stole the letters off the Arch Moore Building in Fairmont, W. Va. The city changed the name of the building.

Letcher good times roll!

The hills are alive with the sound of corruption uncovered. For the past two years, a special grand jury has been investigating the government of Letcher County, Ky.

The first county politico to be arrested was Letcher Circuit Judge Larry D. Collins. Convicted of four counts of accepting money and drugs and one count of accepting money to save a convicted child molester from prison, Collins himself was sentenced to serve five years. His lawyer requested that Collins not be forced to share a cell with anyone he had sent to prison. That eventually could include some of his fellow government officials. Deputy Attorney General Brent Caldwell disclosed that Collins had given Kentucky State Police information which led to other indictments.

In early September of last year, authorities raided a houseboat owned by the son of Letcher County Judge/Executive Ruben Watts and carried away furniture which police say was bought with county funds.

County Jailer Gene Banks was also indicted for misuse of Letcher Fiscal Court funds. A similar raid was made on his house and some of his furniture removed. Banks had earlier been indicted on forgery charges for endorsing checks meant to pay for coal shipments, signing the name of former state police detective C. Frank Fleming. In February 1992, a judge ruled that Banks had not committed forgery. The judge was Letcher Circuit Judge Larry D. Collins.

Commonwealth's Attorney James Wiley Craft is charged with perjury by the special Letcher County grand jury. He is also being sued for malpractice by a woman who hired him to file a wrongful death suit following the accidental death of her 19-year-old son in 1987. The woman claims the suit was dismissed because Craft did not meet court deadlines, allowing the statute of limitations to expire before he filed the suit. A Franklin County grand jury charged Craft with 103 counts of felony theft in using state funds to pay his private secretary.

The trials of Watts, Banks, and Craft were scheduled to begin in March of this year.



Written by Laurene Scalf, with research assistance from Pat Arnow, Charles Moore, Jackie Presnell, and *The Mountain Eagle*.

Tell me about the old days, Mom and Dad

by Gordon L. Swartz III

In the early '50s my mother began her career in the field of education. There was an opening in Boone County for a temporary teacher. She worked long enough to get one check. She had been shorted 10 dollars, and 10 dollars was a hefty percentage of a schoolteacher's salary in those days.

When she complained about the missing 10 dollars, she was met with amazement at her naivete.

"Surely you know that 10 dollars goes to the political machine?"

"No."

"Welcome to the real world."

My mother didn't like that world, so she quit. She had a very successful teaching career on her own merits. I am sure, however, that many beginning teachers had no choice but to bow to the political system.



My father ran unsuccessfully for the West Virginia House of Delegates in the 1950s. A few days before the election a neighbor, who was a good friend, approached my father.

He said, "Mrs. Smith is planning to vote for you Tuesday. She really likes you and your platform."

"Good," said my father. "I need every vote I can get."

Mrs. Smith was a church-going widow, a respected leader of the community. Her support could make a difference in the election.

The elderly neighbor continued, "She wants to know when she's going to get paid."

My father's jaw dropped in amazement. Seeing his consternation, the elder man said, "Now she is going to vote for you. And you need to pay her."

I'm pretty sure my father didn't pay her. Of course, he didn't win the election either.



I recently spoke with my mother about some of the political practices of the '40s and '50s. She assured me that most of the exaggerated stories I had heard were based on fact.

She herself was sent with a list to pick up and drive people to the polls. Many of the people on that list had been deceased for decades, but somehow they had managed to vote in the most recent elections.

Drunks were always in abundance around the polls. The going rate for a vote was often a flask of whiskey. I wonder how the politician knew that the drunk really voted for him. I figure a drunk might sell his vote to both sides and vote however he wanted. Of course, if his morals were that lax, he probably would be a politician himself.



Gordon L. Swartz III is a lifelong resident of West Virginia. He was elected last year to the Coal Miners' Political Action Committee for the United Mine Workers local union.

SHOOTING AT SNAKES, AIMING AT SIGNS

Gunshots of an unknown caliber
frighten her reverie. She cannot distinguish
shotgun, rifle, pistol, .357 magnum,
9mm., a .38, .44 or .45.

It always sounds loud and lethal.
With luck, the beleaguered target
is inanimate, a discarded aluminum can
winking in the river. Or most likely,

just another county road sign
shot full of holes.

If not, unlucky serpent caught
warming October's sluggish blood
on the sun-heated rocks of Gabriel's creek,
called to judgment by a weapon not a trumpet.
The jump-lively iridescence of snake skin glinting
in the sun, now spattered gore.

She wants to shout from the knoll,
Enough! She can't take any more
death and destruction. As a species we do it
so well. Not long ago, another
afternoon falling into autumn, she did yell,
shooting her mouth off her husband likes to say.
"Stop shooting. Stop!"
Either the marksman was out of bullets

or heard her words punctuating his shots
and called a personal cease fire.
She thought she'd try it more often, screaming
from the top of the hill.
Think of the tall tales they'll tell
about her, the crazy woman in that house
above the Ivy River who couldn't bear
the sound of guns.

— Christina Pacosz

*Christina Pacosz has had several books of poetry published including **This is Not a Place to Sing**, West End, 1987.*

Still Lagging After All These Years Appalachians Keep on Facing Hard Times

In the fall 1988 issue we published information about several representative counties in Appalachia to check the effect the War on Poverty had on the region. We chose a coal mining county (Letcher, in Eastern Kentucky), a county with the highest proportion of Cherokee residents in the region (Swain, in Western North Carolina), an urban county (Kanawha, in Central West Virginia), and a rural agricultural

county (Hancock, in East Tennessee). The results of our survey showed that these counties had improved economically during and after the War on Poverty years but still lagged behind the nation (except for Kanawha County). When 1990 census data was finally compiled, we looked at these counties again. Below are our findings. These counties—and now Kanawha, too—lag far behind the nation as a whole on all measures.

A look at some Appalachian communities:

Letcher County, Ky.,

lies in the heart of the coalfields. Population 27,000. Major town: Whitesburg (pop. 1,636). Major industry: coal mining. Agricultural products: corn, vegetables, hay, cattle.

Swain County, N.C.,

borders the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Most of the county is part of the Qualla Boundary—land held in trust by the U.S. government for the Eastern Band of the Cherokee. Population 11,268—27.3% Native American. Major towns: Bryson City, Cherokee. Major industry: tourism. Agricultural products: tobacco, cattle, horticulture.

Kanawha County, W.Va.,

located in the middle of the state is home to Charleston, the state's capital and largest city (pop. 57,287). County population: 207,619. Major industries: chemicals, construction and retail. Agricultural products: corn, tobacco, beef cattle.

Hancock County, Tenn.,

which adjoins the Virginia border, boasts no major highways, railroads, bus service or fast food chains. Population: 6,739. Major town: Sneedville (pop. 1,446). Major industry: wood production. Agricultural products: tobacco, cattle.

U.S.A.

Population: 248,709,873.

	median family income	families below pov- erty line	unemploy- ment rate	population change
				1950-1960
1960	\$ 2,615	55.2%	11.4%	-23.8%
				1960-1970
1970	\$ 4,406	40.1%	4.7%	-23.0%
				1970-1980
1980	\$12,702	22.9%	11.9%	+32.5%
				1980-1990
1990	\$18,229	29.0%	13.8%	-12.0%
				1950-1960
1960	\$ 2,484	59.1%	6.3%	-15.5%
				1960-1970
1970	\$ 5,186	26.9%	4.6%	+5.3%
				1970-1980
1980	\$10,982	23.3%	16.4%	+10.8%
				1980-1990
1990	\$19,533	21.5%	10.7%	+9.6%
				1950-1960
1960	\$ 5,862	21.4%	6.1%	+5.5%
				1960-1970
1970	\$ 8,668	13.0%	4.1%	-9.3%
				1970-1980
1980	\$20,367	8.2%	6.3%	+0.8%
				1980-1990
1990	\$30,030	12.3%	7.0%	-10.3%
				1950-1960
1960	\$ 1,442	78.0%	2.8%	-14.9%
				1960-1970
1970	\$ 2,683	55.5%	6.3%	-13.4%
				1970-1980
1980	\$ 7,830	39.5%	11.0%	+2.5%
				1980-1990
1990	\$14,745	33.9%	10.6%	-2.1%
				1950-1960
1960	\$ 5,660	21.4%	5.1%	+18.5%
				1960-1970
1970	\$ 9,586	10.7%	4.4%	+13.3%
				1970-1980
1980	\$19,917	9.6%	6.5%	+11.4%
				1980-1990
1990	\$35,225	10.0%	6.3%	+9.8%

BACK ISSUES OF **NOW&THEN**

THE APPALACHIAN MAGAZINE

ISSUE	PRICE EACH
27. POLITICS IN APPALACHIA: The A R C •John Kennedy in West Virginia •Appalachian identity •Scandals Sheet •Postcards from the edge of good taste	\$4.50
26. STORYTELLING AND APPALACHIA: Storytelling in Jonesborough •Interviews: Sharyn McCrumb, Donald Davis, Gary Carden •Judy Byers on Ruth Ann Musick	\$4.50
25. CIVIL WAR IN APPALACHIA: The Re-enactors •Antebellum women •South vs. South •The Cherokee and the Confederacy •Battle flags in school •Civil War leaders	\$3.50
24. EDUCATION IN APPALACHIA: School reform in Kentucky •Memories of a one-room school •Education and re-visioning of Appalachia •Most influential teachers	\$3.50
23. SPORTS IN APPALACHIA: Sports and religion •Stock car racing: an Appalachian invention •West Virginians in sports: interviews with Jerry West, Hot Rod Hundley	\$3.50
22. SCOTTISH-APPALACHIAN CONNECTION: The Journey from Scotland to Ulster to Appalachia •The Highland Games at Grandfather Mountain •Scottish ballads	\$3.50
21. NEW APPALACHIAN WRITING: Excerpt from Lee Smith •Poetry and Prose by: Fred Chappell, Jim Wayne Miller, Jo Carson , Michael Chitwood	\$3.50
20. THE MEDIA AND APPALACHIA: The Hills meet Hollywood—a guide •On the set of Next of Kin •Whitesburg, Kentucky's, Appalshop and Mountain Eagle.	\$3.50
19. FAMILY AND COMMUNITY: Family violence and incest •Crime in Appalachia	\$3.50
18. TOURISM: Sevier County—from Dollywood to Gatlinburg to the Outlet Malls •The industrial revolution as tourist draw •Southern skiing •Cherokee meets the tourists	\$3.50
17. ACTIVISM: Women of the Pittston strike •Interviews: Myles Horton and John Gaventa	\$3.50
16. URBAN APPALACHIA: The urban Appalachian way of death •Tallest buildings in Appalachia •Rust Belt vs. New South •A New Yorker from Tennessee	\$3.50
15. RURAL APPALACHIA: Farm activist Dick Austin •Helen Lewis •The coming of coal mining to Eastern Kentucky •Depression in Embreeville, Tennessee	\$3.50
14. SENSE OF PLACE: Interviews with Wilma Dykeman and Lee Smith •Five personal maps—Jo Carson traces her routes	\$3.50
13. HEALTH: Midwives •Folk medicine past and present •Urban Appalachian health •“Night comes to the chromosomes,” facts and Harry Caudill	\$2.50
12. PERCEPTIONS AND PRESCRIPTIONS: The war on poverty in Appalachia	\$2.50
11. INSIDERS AND OUTSIDERS: Ethnic Appalachia: Italians of West Virginia •Keeping Kosher in East Tennessee •Chinese, Filipinos in Appalachia	\$2.50
10. WORKING: Interviews with Denise Giardina and John Sayles •Lives in coal •The Gertie Nevels Appalachian workout	\$2.50

Postage: single issue: \$1.50 2 - 10: \$3.00 11 or more: \$4.00
40 percent discount on orders of five or more magazines of any single issue

ORDER BLANK

Now & Then
 Center for Appalachian
 Studies and Services
 Box 70556, ETSU
 Johnson City TN 37614-0556
 Phone and Fax: 615 929-5348

SEND TO:

NAME: _____
 ADDRESS: _____
 CITY/STATE/ZIP: _____
 DAYTIME PHONE NUMBER: _____

Please send gift membership to:

NAME: _____
 ADDRESS: _____
 CITY/STATE/ZIP: _____
 Gift card should read: _____

You can send additional gift memberships by including all the necessary information on a separate sheet of paper and enclosing it with your order.

BECOME A FRIEND OF THE CENTER FOR APPALACHIAN STUDIES AND SERVICES: When you become a **Friend of the Center for Appalachian Studies and Services**, you are helping to support artistic, scholarly, and public services in the region. You will receive a year's subscription to *Now & Then* as well (three issues).

A **gift membership** is a great way for those who live in the region, those who have left for distant parts, or friends or relatives who aren't "from here" to learn more about this fascinating region. Back issues of *Now & Then* are also available.

MEMBERSHIP LEVELS:

SUBSCRIBING MEMBER	\$10.00	CONTRIBUTING MEMBER	\$50.00
SUPPORTING MEMBER	\$25.00	SUSTAINING MEMBER	\$100.00
INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERSHIP		\$12.00	

MEMBERSHIP RATES WILL BE INCREASING WITH THE SUMMER 1994 ISSUE

MEMBERSHIPS

LEVEL	HOW MANY	TOTAL AMOUNT
SUBSCRIBING MEMBERSHIP. \$10		
SUPPORTING MEMBERSHIP. \$25		
CONTRIBUTING MEMBERSHIP. \$50		
SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP. \$100		
INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERSHIP. \$12		

BACK ISSUES

ISSUE NUMBER AND NAME	HOW MANY	TOTAL AMOUNT

Use a separate piece of paper for additional issues

SUBTOTAL FOR MEMBERSHIPS

SUBTOTAL FOR MAGAZINES

(-40% discount for bulk order)

(SUBTOTAL FOR MAGAZINES)

TN residents add 8.25% for magazines

POSTAGE (see previous page)

TOTAL ENCLOSED

Institutional Memberships please indicate:
 ___ Payment enclosed ___ Please bill
 Payment must accompany all other orders.

Make checks payable to ETSU/CASS. Follow directions on reverse to make a self-mailer.

TAPE DOWN

4. FOLD OVER

From

Place
Stamp
Here

1. FOLD IN

2. FOLD IN

NOW & THEN

THE APPALACHIAN MAGAZINE

EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

BOX 70556

JOHNSON CITY TN 37614-0556

Make this sheet into an envelope by following the easy numbered steps.
You are enclosing a check, so be sure all open edges are **taped** shut (**do not use glue**).

3. FOLD THIS FLAP UNDER

Wearing Out Old Glory

Jerry Hilliard

During the summer months, businessman-attorney Phil Kelley proudly displays the American flag on the front porch of his house in Asheville, N.C.

Back in the summer of 1969, when he was a student at East Tennessee State University, a flag had a place even closer to his heart — he wore it as a vest.

But he wore it in the wrong place at the wrong time, became the first person charged under Tennessee's flag-desecration law, spent some time in jail, and set a goal that drastically altered the course of his life.

When Kelley received his high school diploma in 1966, he was an unlikely candidate to ever be considered a "radical." At Dobyns-Bennett High School in Kingsport, Tenn., he had been a band member and a tennis letterman. He was nominated for an appointment to West Point by Congressman Jimmy Quillen, but, being apprehensive about the military academy's environment and about moving so far from home, he chose to enroll at ETSU in nearby Johnson City. Outside the classroom, much of Kelley's time was devoted to activities of his fraternity, Sigma Phi Epsilon. After attending ETSU for more than two years, he transferred to the University of Tennessee, but the summer term of 1969 found him back on the Johnson City campus taking courses.

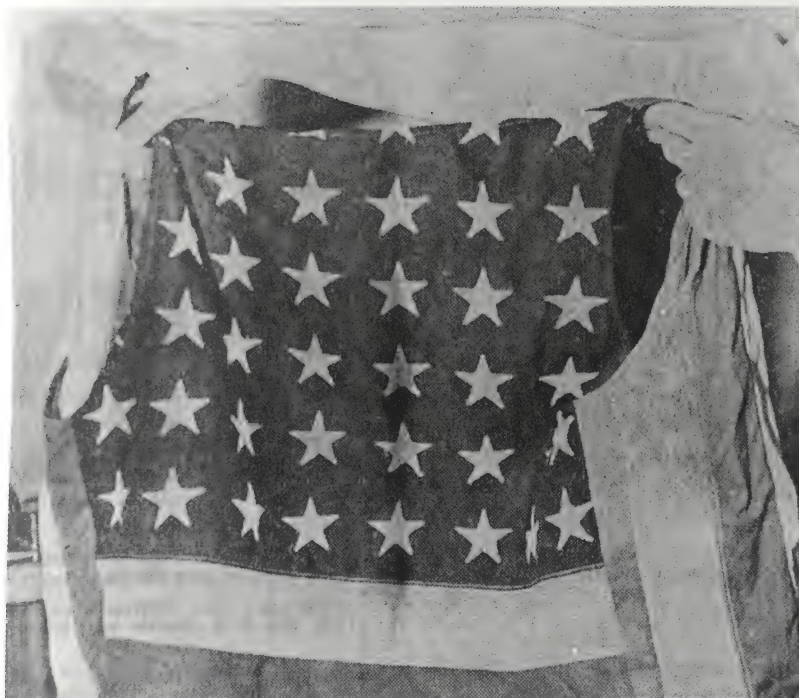
Although he had remained active in the fraternity at UT, his attention had begun to focus on the large, active anti-war movement in Knoxville — something that had been virtually non-existent in Johnson City.

"I looked at the Vietnam War as being basically a civil war," he said. "The United States had no reason to be involved."

That summer, Kelley, who at the time wore a mustache but had relatively short hair, moved into an apartment in a house on West Maple Street, not far from campus. He noticed that an old 48-star American flag was being used as a curtain in a room above him. The flag had been left behind by another student, and Kelley asked his landlord if he could have it. After using the outdated flag as a drape in his own apartment for a short time, he made other plans for it. Kelley was going to attend a music festival on the Fourth of July in Atlanta and "I thought a vest made out of the flag would be a neat thing to wear to a place where I knew other people would be doing some of the same kinds of things."

"I was totally unaware there might be anything illegal about it," he said. "After all this wasn't even a current American flag."

Kelley said he knew the vest would mark him as being someone with a liberal point of view, but it was intended to be an eye-catching item of attire instead of a form of protest. His "accomplices" were two home economics majors, who took scissors and needles to



The vest made out of a 48-star American flag that Phil Kelley was wearing the night he was arrested in 1969.

Old Glory only after being assured by Kelley that they wouldn't get into trouble. The seamstresses later spent many uncomfortable weeks worrying that the police would come knocking at their doors.

Kelley wore his new vest without incident at the festival in Atlanta, where he stayed with friends in an apartment complex. While he was passing time near the pool after the concert, Kelley witnessed a man run up and toss a rifle into the water. Shortly afterward state troopers arrived at the scene and spoke for a long time with Kelley — who was wearing the flag vest — about what he had seen. “The troopers weren't the least bit upset with what I was wearing,” he said.

Although the encounter with the troopers bolstered Kelley's confidence about wearing the vest, he realized that the reaction would be much different at ETSU, and he had no intention of wearing it to classes.

On Saturday, July 12, Kelley went to Kingsport to mow the lawn for his father. On his way back to his apartment, he stopped for a beer at the Gilded Cage in Johnson City.

Because the Gilded Cage was largely a student hangout, he expected no negative reaction to his bare feet, jeans, T-shirt . . . and flag vest. But when he saw the police arrive, he had a distinct feeling that he was in trouble. He was hauled off to jail and charged with desecrating the flag.

“I later was told that the police were called by a student who worked part time for the local newspaper,” Kelley said. “He wanted to get a firsthand story of the arrest.”

Because his parents were on vacation at the time, Kelley spent about three days in the city jail before bail money could be collected.

“Although the jail was an unpleasant place to be, I wasn't badly mistreated,” Kelley recalled. “But whenever the shifts changed, all the police officers made a point of coming back to the cell to see the ‘commie.’”

Kelley said that after bond was finally posted he was purposely held for 14 or 15 more hours before being released in the middle of the night.

While he had been in jail, many of Kelley's cell mates were homeless individuals who had been arrested for drunkenness. Seeing their plight led Kelley to believe that “those kinds of people

needed legal help.”

“I made a pact with myself that if I could avoid a conviction on the flag charges and eventually get into law school, I would devote my life to making a difference in things,” he said.

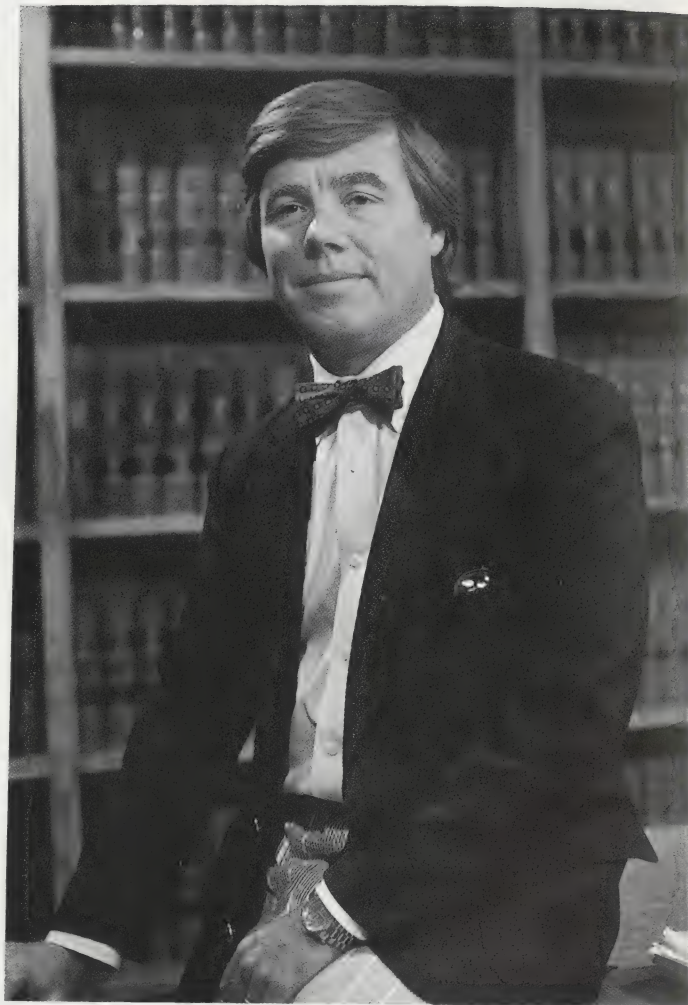
Among the points used in his defense were the vague wording of the state's flag-desecration law, and the fact that an outdated 48-star flag was involved. In September, “desecration” was dropped from the charge, and in November the case was closed when the district attorney refused to take it to a grand jury.

Meanwhile, Kelley had decided to stay at ETSU to earn a bachelor's degree in social work, which he felt would be good preparation for the law career he had in mind.

Although ostracized by some members of his fraternity and embittered by his arrest, Kelley didn't consider himself a “hippie,” although he admits that he drifted in that direction. He became much more intent upon finishing his degree requirements, and he grew close to a small group of students on campus who were active in the anti-war movement.

In the fall of 1970, he was among some 25 students staging a protest during an appearance on campus by President Richard Nixon. Lengthy questioning beforehand by Secret Service agents had a chilling effect on the protesters, but nonetheless they chanted and carried posters attacking Nixon's Vietnam policies.

At Kelley's side during the Nixon protest was the woman who would become his first wife — Alison Laird, a student at Virginia Intermont College who also happened to be the daughter of Melvin Laird,



Larry Smith

Phil Kelley in his law office, 1989.

the nation's secretary of defense.

Immediately after his graduation in the spring of 1971, Kelley enrolled in the University of Tennessee College of Law, from which he earned his degree in 1974.

During his final year at UT, he participated in the law school's legal clinic. His main project was helping the Cherokee (North Carolina) Indian Reservation use grant money to start a legal-aid program.

After receiving his law degree Kelley directed the program, known as the Eastern Cherokee Legal Services Organization, for nearly two years. Most of his work involved providing criminal defense for Indians, and virtually all felony cases on the reservation were handled in federal court.

Kelley frequently dealt with the U.S. Attorney for the Western District of North Carolina, who offered him the job of assistant U.S. Attorney in 1976. In that position, he worked as a prosecutor out of an office in Asheville until 1980, when he

began his private practice.

Until 1992, he was a partner in the firm of Ball, Kelley and Arrowood, specializing in criminal and domestic (family) law.

Today, he and his wife, Kathy, operate a business she started several years ago called Highreach Learning. He still puts his background to good use when legal issues arise concerning the firm, which provides monthly educational curricula for teachers of preschoolers.

Although his life has changed greatly since 1969, Kelley has stayed active through the years in organizations and activities designed to protect civil rights.

He believes the U.S. Supreme Court acted properly in 1989 when it ruled that burning the American flag was protected by constitutional guarantees of free speech.

Kelley said he doesn't condone flag burning, but "I absolutely disagree with having a constitutional amendment for flag desecration just because it is politically expedient."

He said no statute outlawing flag burning could be worded completely and precisely enough to avoid infringements on freedom of speech.

"Different interpretations could lead to situations similar to what happened to me in Johnson City," he said. "In another place such as Atlanta, I never would have been arrested."



Jerry Hilliard is a faculty member in East Tennessee State University's Department of Communication. He has worked on the staffs of the Miami Herald, the Miami News, the Tampa Tribune, and the Knoxville News-Sentinel.

The flag-desecration arrests in July 1969 of Phil Kelley and another East Tennessee State University student, Scott Bishop, led to national publicity and one of the most bizarre lawsuits in Johnson City's history.

Four days after Kelley was jailed for wearing a vest fashioned from a 48-star American flag, Bishop was arrested for using the same type of flag as a drape in the window of his apartment on West Locust Street. Both students spent time in jail before they could arrange for bail, and more than four months passed before a district attorney brought to a halt the legal action against them.

On Aug. 31, 1969, the *Kingsport Times-News* published an article by staff writer Joan Roesgen that went beyond satire in ridiculing policemen, officials, and residents of Johnson City for their attitudes. For example, the article said: "... down at city hall a combat veteran gives the police a pat on the back for having the courage to enforce the law. In his book the kids got what they deserved, and if they didn't learn about respect for the flag at home, it's time they learned about it the hard way."

An updated version of the article was published July 14, 1970, by *Look* magazine—in all copies, that is, except those distributed in the region surrounding Johnson City. Its headline read "What They Did to Old Glory in Johnson City, Tennessee."

In response to the negative publicity, the city filed a \$48 million libel suit against *Look*, the Kingsport Publishing Corp., and Mrs. Roesgen.

The lawsuit charged that the article was "libelous and defamatory to Johnson City, its growth, its citizens, and its police force." Instead of being the way it was pictured in the article, the lawsuit said, the city "is filled with an atmosphere in which law-abiding, religious, patriotic, and educated (people) live and desire to live."

In 1972, the Tennessee Supreme Court affirmed an earlier judgment against the lawsuit by the Washington County Circuit Court. In its ruling, the Supreme Court upheld the right of the press or any individual to criticize the government without fear of legal reprisal.

The court also ruled that the municipality was not a "person" within the meaning of the state's libel laws, which primarily are intended to protect the reputations of individuals.

—Jerry Hilliard

Lesbian Eyes

I looked the lesbian
in her deepest eye
and found a person
others could love
including
the woman in me
and the man outside.

She looked away
and I went along
mind in mind
to that emptiness
where what we are

and what we want
will never meet
but often nod
in acknowledgment.

— Glenn McKee

Glenn McKee lives in Waterville, Maine. His poetry appears frequently in Now & Then.

Ron Coleman, Vice-Mayor of Harriman, Tennessee

by Janet Evans

In the fall of 1955, a group of black men gathered together in Sam Yett's home to form a civic club in Harriman, Tenn. Their purpose? — to make things better for blacks in their home town. Among this group was 21-year-old Wayne Ronald Coleman, oldest son of a Methodist minister, product of segregated schools, and friend of both blacks and whites. As the men discussed what they could do to help the cause of integration in their town, it was suggested that one of the group run for city council in the upcoming election. Ron Coleman thought he had the best chance to win a seat, and the group concurred.

Coleman had a modicum of prestige in the community — he was the first black clerk hired by a white store owner in the town. Maxwell Johnson first hired nine-year-old Ron Coleman to fill (at 10 cents a bucket) the pot-bellied stove which warmed the Johnson's Variety store on Trenton Street. Coleman gradually took on more responsibility in the store — he put bicycles together, took care of Christmas lay-a-ways, and began recommending records to customers. Eventually, Max Johnson promoted Coleman to clerk in the record section of the store.

"This was the time when rhythm and blues was just getting popular," said Coleman, "so they needed somebody who was familiar with black music. Customers wanted to know what was good, and I started helping them. That's how I came to be a clerk in the store. I wound up selling everything. Sometimes these people would come in and say, 'I don't want no nigger waiting on me,' and when Max heard it, he would say 'well, you might have to stand here all day if you won't let Coleman wait on you.' I never felt colored with Max," said Coleman.

While Ron Coleman benefited from the color blindness of his employer, others weren't so fortunate. Black groups across the country moved in the 1950s to force integration and implementation of the Civil Rights Act. Significantly, the "NAACP Annual Reports" recorded for the first time two consecutive years (1952-1953) with no lynchings of a black man in the United States. Between 1952 and 1954, the NAACP fought segregation at the University of Tennessee graduate and professional schools, in public restaurants in Washington, D.C., and in voter registration across the country. It was these heady times that encouraged young Wayne Ronald Coleman to place his name on the ballot of "the town that temperance built."

Harriman, Tenn., was founded in 1890 by the East Tennessee Land Company. Union General Walter Harriman, who had



Ron Coleman

camped on the site during the Civil War, wrote to his son about the beautiful valley east of the Cumberland Mountains in Tennessee, recommending it for a settlement after the war was over. Harriman's son believed in temperance and joined with other like-minded men to form the East Tennessee Land Company. They purchased 10,000 acres from the Robert Byrd plantation on the Emory River watershed. In an auction on the grounds, 3,000 men from 18 states purchased lots in the "first and only model industrial city of temperance." According to Walter T. Pulliam's history of Harriman, *Harriman: The Town That Temperance Built*, each lot sold contained a clause prohibiting "the use of the property, or any building thereon, for the purpose of manufacturing, storing, or selling intoxicating liquors or beverages as such." In the center of town, the land company built a turreted office of stone which later became the town's Temperance College. They also constructed, in 1890, the Oak View School with eight grades for "colored people," some of whom were probably former slaves of local land owners.

Ron Coleman was ready for high school in 1948, but no high school was available to blacks in the southern town of Harriman. Black students had to be bused to Campbell High School in Rockwood five miles away. But by the time the bus made its round-a-bout circuit, picking up black students from Oliver

Springs, Emory Gap, Kingston, Harriman, and Johnny Holler, the ride lasted two to three hours. They often arrived after school started, especially when the bus broke down, which it often did. "In the winter time I got up before daylight and got home after dark," said Coleman.

The irony of the situation struck Coleman as the white high school in Harriman was only two blocks away. But he had to wait for the bus. Some of his white friends told him, "Ronald, I wish you could go to school with us." And he answered them wistfully, "I wish I could too." Coleman recalls thinking about the fact that he had become friends with these students when he was 12 or 13 years old, yet he couldn't attend the same school. "I understood it," he said, "but it was hard to swallow, knowing that I could get along with them."

Ron Coleman made friends with the young white clerks at Max Johnson's Variety store as they worked together stocking shelves, taking inventory and cleaning the store at night. Coleman attended the Harriman High School Senior Prom and danced with white girls. He "hung out" at the lake with several white students. One summer afternoon he saw a young girl swimming toward the island in the center of Loudon Lake. Her name was Nancy Oran. Coleman and his white friends were rowing nearby in a boat. Oran called to them to help her. The other boys laughed at her thinking she was teasing, but Coleman realized she was in trouble and insisted on rowing to her and hauling her into the boat. Oran had cramps in both legs and couldn't have made it to the island. "Ronald Coleman saved my life," said Oran, now Treasurer for the city of Harriman.

The young people of Harriman may have accepted Coleman, but the rest of Harriman, a town of 4,000 people, only 300 of whom were black, was not ready for a minority member on their city council. Late night phone calls threatening the safety of Coleman's family and threats to Max Johnson of boycotting his store convinced Coleman to withdraw from the city council election in 1955.

"I could see things were getting bad, but they were going to get worse. So I had to go to one of the Browders [an influential family in the area], who was on the city election commission. I had to

sign a statement telling why I didn't want to run for city council. And I couldn't say the things I wanted to say — it had to be a statement of my own free will," said Coleman sadly. The Coleman family was disappointed in his decision.

Coleman remembers from his childhood marching down main street in the black's Emancipation Day parade. Coleman relates, "My father had an old coronet, and I held his hand. He was really looking forward to integration. But I didn't want trouble, and it was hard enough for him to find work in this little town. I could see that he was finished if I had kept in there [the election race]," said Coleman.

After the election, Coleman decided to move on — he had gone about as far as he could at the store. A recruiting officer convinced him to join the Air Force where he became one of the first black air traffic controllers.

After training at Keesler Air Force base in Biloxi, Miss., where he met his future wife Ruth, Coleman saw the world. He had tours of duty in Germany, the Philippines, Thailand, Saudi Arabia, Laos, Cambodia, and two tours in Vietnam. Always interested in people, Coleman made the effort to meet natives of the countries where he lived, and he learned to appreciate different cultures. He decided early on in his career that it didn't help to carry a grudge or a chip on the shoulder every time his ego got dented. But he did believe in stepping forward when he knew he was right.

When he took his wife and young daughter back to Harriman to stay with his widowed mother before he left for a tour of duty in Vietnam, Coleman and his wife Ruth again experienced segregation. Ruth's eyebrows raise as she describes

taking young Rhonda to the neighborhood school to enroll her in kindergarten for the 1963 fall term. The principal told Ruth Coleman that black students were not allowed in that school — black students were bused to a separate elementary school. Her Mississippi instincts took over as she turned without a word to the principal and headed home. "In Mississippi you knew where you stood. In Harriman, you weren't so sure," she said.

When Ruth told him of the rejection at the school, Coleman's voice rose an octave, and the volume turned to loud as he shouted, "I can serve my country, and they say my child can't go to school!"



Harriman's Temperance Hall, site of City Council meetings.

The Supreme Court had declared racial segregation unconstitutional on May 17, 1954. Coleman's younger brother Don was the first black student to graduate from Harriman High School. But it wasn't until August 31, 1970, that desegregation laws for public schools came into force in elementary schools in 11 southern states. But when his daughter was turned away from the public elementary school in 1963, Coleman arranged for a meeting with the school board for the next day. Rhonda entered the neighborhood school without incident. Before he left for his tour of duty Coleman told his wife, "I'm coming back to Harriman. I want to do something for this town."

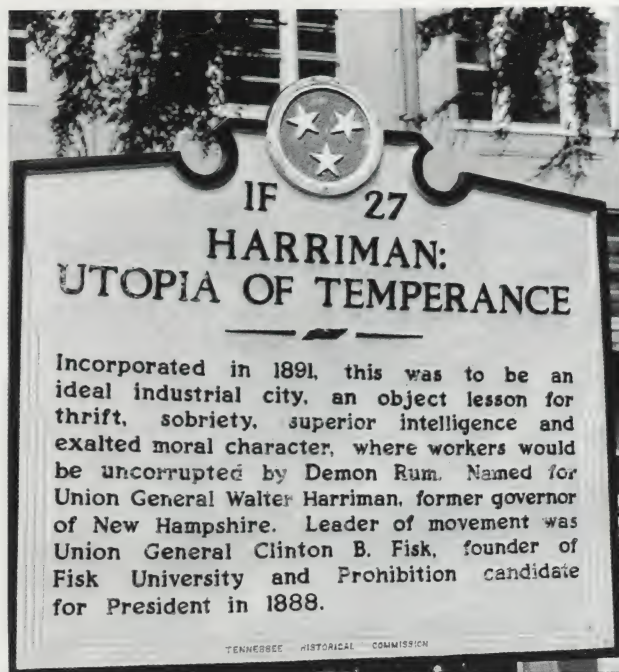
After retiring as a master sergeant with 28 years of service, Coleman moved back to his hometown where he became a

Laboratory Technician in the Academic Development Department of Roane State Community College. In 1986, a co-worker at Roane State nominated Coleman to complete the nine-month Roane County Commission term left by a councilman who moved out of his elected ward. The next spring, Coleman put his name on the ballot for the upcoming Harriman City Council election. He was defeated. "But I learned," said Coleman.

In the next election, in 1987, Council was elected by the town at large rather than by district. Coleman campaigned by walking around Harriman neighborhoods, knocking on doors, asking people to vote for him. With limited resources and no backing but a cheering section consisting of his wife, four children, and his old employer Maxwell Johnson, Coleman trudged all over town introducing himself and talking to constituents. He came to work at Roane State one day with bleeding feet from the miles he walked all over the city.

The hard work paid off. With only 158 registered black voters in Harriman ("and they didn't all vote for me," said Coleman), he demonstrated his popularity across racial lines by garnering almost 900 votes. The precedent set by previous councils was that the person with the most votes in the council election becomes vice-mayor. Thus, Coleman became the first black vice-mayor of Harriman, Tenn. He repeated in 1991 and was made vice-mayor for a second term.

A strong supporter of the schools, Coleman became aware of the shortfall in revenue to support new programs. The local schools were falling behind in preparing students to be eligible for new kinds of jobs and new college requirements. To gain needed revenue, this son of a Methodist minister revived a previously defeated proposal for sales of beer in the city that temperance built. Beer joints such as the Rec Center and Skinny Millers were already selling beer just across the river. Liquor stores across the county lines drew a stream of customers with Roane County license plates. Again taking his views to the voters in a door-to-door campaign, Coleman convinced enough people to pass a referendum in August, 1992, for beer sales to become legal in Harriman. On the day



Historical marker in front of Temperance Hall in Harriman, Tenn.

that the first beer sales began, November 3, 1992, the people of Harriman affirmed package liquor sales by eight votes.

Community business leaders are still divided in their views of the liquor sales in Harriman. Proponents agree with Coleman that liquor was in Harriman anyway and that making it legal gives the city more control over who it is sold to and the hours it is sold. A vocal group opposed to the adoption of liquor is the Emory Baptist Association. This religious group believes that the founding fathers based the Harriman government on Christian principles and that those principles don't include the sale of spirits. They contend that more money will be needed for police protection against drunks and jails to house drunks than will ever be gained in revenue. The idea of change in this quiet rural setting upsets many residents, resulting in heated exchanges of opinions at city council meetings in the old gray stone Temperance Hall. Shouts of "beer breath" and other name-calling aimed at Coleman finally provoked the usually mild-mannered councilman to call one man a troublemaker and to tell him to sit down.

Liquor law changes for some Harriman residents are equated to unwanted elements like creeping kudzu, but Ron Coleman believes changing the image of

Harriman may encourage industries that are attracted to the sort of quiet small town where friendly townspeople are willing to give directions, and to share thoughts and a coveted Butterfinger candy bar with a stranger. Roane Street rambles by the courthouse and Temperance Hall, then down through the center of the business district where the Princess Theater still shows movies, and the Farnham Cafe has lace curtains tied with rose ribbons in the windows. On Clinton Street Max Johnson's widow still lives in the same gray painted wood and brick house sitting above the street. Neighboring two-story homes are smoothly painted, yards mowed and

mature bushes are pruned — the signs of long-term care and not of renovation. On Trenton street, behind the library, large pin oak trees still shade the asphalt pavement from the hot afternoon sun, making a cool spot to eat an unhurried lunch across the street from the former Johnson's Variety Store. Coleman appreciates all this. He likes his town.

But he also appreciates the fact that Roane County young people want to stay in the valley but are being forced to leave in order to get good jobs. As part of that effort to improve his community, Councilman Wayne Ronald Coleman volunteers his time as the first black member of the boards of the Baptist Hospital, Roane County Community Development Council, Harriman Utilities District, E-911, Michael Dunn Rehabilitation Center, Roane Literacy Council, and Harriman Vo-Tech. He works hard to help his community in ways that he believes will benefit the next generation.



Janet Evans is a Laboratory Teacher and the Emeritus Program coordinator at Roane State Community College in Oak Ridge, Tenn.

ARC, from page 6

responsive to the states." Staff includes the Washington office of 50 employees and 69 local development districts.

Is ARC accomplishing what it set out to do? Roy Nicks, who, after a career in government in Nashville, recently moved to Johnson City to become president of East Tennessee State University, believes ARC is achieving its mission. But he was

surprised at how long the projects took before having an impact. "When you're young and inexperienced, you have lots of visions. I kind of expected we could go build all these roads and attract new industry, and in 10 years, it would be a thriving economy. It shows how naive you are when you're young and aggressive."

However, Nicks has seen progress. "The road projects, the water and sewer

projects, have improved living conditions and promoted economic development."

There is more to be done, he believes. "We don't have enough industry. We don't have enough education." He added. "It's going to happen. It's just a lot slower than I thought it was going to be."



Ann Anderson at ARC provided the map and much helpful information. Many thanks.

Mathews, from page 5

ing to do was to make opportunities available to the people in the Appalachian area. People are not going to be interested in putting in an industrial opportunity if you can't get in or out of the place. We were looking to see what we needed to do in order to put this area of the country at the same economic opportunity level as others, and we found that roads, education, health care were three of the things that were lacking, and so we began to concentrate in that area. But we knew in order to bring these things about we had to have good transportation.

Now & Then: What was your role in the early days?

Mathews: Back in '63, each of the states had formed a loose group. I was Tennessee's first representative. For a number of months we all met down here at the Commerce Department at 14th Street once or twice a month and, toward the end, almost every day, drafting this legislation and passing it out and talking to our governors and to our fellow cabinet members in our states.

Then when the Commission was finally formed, I became the first designated representative from Tennessee. President Lyndon Johnson actually signed the Appalachian Regional Commission bill in a Rose Garden ceremony. All of those old fellows like me that represented their individual states on the PARC (the planning commission) were there, and he handed each one of us a pen.

Now & Then: Do you remember when you met Kennedy about this Appalachian issue, was he pushing it, really encouraging it, or was it brought to him?

Mathews: It was brought to him. If I had to give credit to someone, I would have to start with the governor of Kentucky, either Kentucky or West Virginia, the way I remember it.

Now & Then: Kennedy, you found him receptive?

Mathews: Kennedy, it was just like the president today, very few of them actually have an opportunity after they assume the job, to actually take the initiative. They react to things that are brought.

Now & Then: Then Johnson picked it up?

Mathews: The thing about it, we might never have gotten it through under President Kennedy. I don't know if you remember history, he was having a difficult time with Congress, the things he was putting his stamp of approval on. Congress was

Pat Arnow



Sen. Harlan Mathews of Tennessee in his office in Washington.

not very supportive. He was talking about health care at the time. He was talking about civil rights and a bunch of things that were somewhat divisive, and he was having awfully poor luck. Johnson was the vice president and trying to help out. If you remember, when Kennedy was assassinated, and Johnson assumed the presidency, every program that Kennedy had been interested in went through the Congress just like that.

Now & Then: Well, Johnson really knew how to move legislation along.

Mathews: Not only that, but the country was feeling so guilty or whatever because of the death of the person they respected that they wanted to see his ideas surviving. Johnson could have gone to Florida on vacation, and they'd have passed anything. But he was a very adept leader in working with the Congress.

Now & Then: Since returning to Washington what kind of changes or improvements or problems have you seen with ARC?

Mathews: Thirty years ago I had no real concept of how the Congress worked and really what we were asking the Congress to do. I was very cognizant of the need in our part of Appalachia. I believed that those things we were trying to do could be productive toward providing some of the solutions. And I wind up being as surprised as some others by the fact that we were able to ac-

comply with it. We really were at that time saying, "select us out of everything, and set us up as a place you want to put special things into."

After looking back on it, I see that we weren't pulling ourselves out and asking for special treatment as opposed to the rest of the nation, but we were asking for equal treatment with the rest of the nation. Across the spectrum of the federal government, there are all types of federal programs which are directed toward specific problems in different parts of the country. They're not all highlighted as a special commission, but [western states believe that] the Department of the Interior was created to provide assistance to the western states.

Now & Then: I understand there've been moves at various times, in '79 and '82 to think about terminating the ARC. Do you think that's a good idea?

Mathews: No, it's going to happen one day. I'm in no hurry to hasten its demise. Once we achieve those goals we set out to do, we're going to find it increasingly more difficult to ask the country to treat us differently from the rest of the country. It continues to make a contribution.

Now & Then: Some of the parts of the region have done very well, partly because of the highways, but there are parts that still lag behind the rest of the country.

Mathews: You know, the one area I think the commission could make a contribution, I don't know how, but it continues to be an opportunity, and that is in coal mining.

Now & Then: How's that?

Mathews: The entire area is rich in coal resources. In the early days, the miners went into the area and did all of this strip mining and scarred the area real badly, and as a consequence we've had the Office of Surface Mining created at the federal level, and they've almost gone to the other extreme. They've almost stopped production of coal. We're going to have to look at what our natural resources are and develop those. It's got to be done environmentally safe. I don't want to go back to the strip mining, but I would hope that the commission might give some leadership in how to best excavate these minerals and resources and how to best make employment opportunities available. It can be done. It's just a matter of looking at it and doing it responsibly. You're going to have to mine the coal responsibly—you're going to have to open up the area for tourism, but when you get past this, the opportunities are going to be limited. We've got to look at who we are, what we are, and decide what we want to be and how we can do that.

Now & Then: If we want to get President Clinton's attention to focus on Appalachia, how would you recommend that come about?

Mathews: I think the program began and continues to be a partnership between the president and the Congress. As long as it continues to meet the needs of the region as measured primarily by the governors and the Congress people—senators, representatives, whatever—it stands a good chance of being funded year after year. But if it dissolves into a pork barrel machine, it's going to be hard for any of us to say we ought to have a bigger slice of the pork than anybody else.

— Interviewed by Pat Arnow

Wenger, from page 5

thought that we would organize the community from the grass roots up and sort of take over local government.

I learned several lessons in that experience. One is that community organizing is best left to people from that community, that outsiders can be helpful, but any effort that one expects to be permanent has to come from the inside. The second lesson I learned — it took me a little longer to learn this — is that working together is a lot more effective than trying to work at odds with somebody else. The commission's main goal is to make sure that the projects that we fund come from the local level and not from some outside influence, and we try to build coalitions.

Now & Then: ARC hasn't been without its problems.

Wenger: Every organization has its problems. If you didn't have problems, you probably wouldn't be doing anything. And the commission has its opponents too. I think the opponents are wrong. I think those are people who don't really understand the commission. They look at it as just another grant program, and I think that's not the way you have to look at it. I think, in fact, the commission ought to be used as a model for how to do economic development, particularly in rural areas. [It's done] by bringing together community leaders and public officials to do things together. You can't do economic development in one small community, then in another small community, and then in another small community. In rural areas most communities don't have the resources to be able to do it by themselves. But when a group of



Pat Arnow

Michael Wenger, Appalachian Regional Commission's States' Washington Representative.

communities get together, each of them using the resources that they have, they can make something happen.

Now & Then: When you talk about the people who are opposed, are you talking about people on the hill or in the communities or *Reader's Digest* or what?

Wenger: (Chuckles) Well, let me answer those separately.

There are some that'll say we haven't done enough grass-roots stuff, that we've relied too much on political leadership such as governors and county officials. My response to that is that we probably could do more grass-roots work and probably ought to, but that cannot be to the exclusion of the political officials — who are the elected officials — and who have to be an integral part of the process if anything permanent and long-term is going to happen. Most people understand that.

As for the *Reader's Digest* article, I think that was a blatant

We thought that we would organize from the grass roots up and sort of take over local government.

misrepresentation of reality. The article contained not one positive word about the commission, not one. There are probably parts of government which are wasteful, but they picked the wrong example in my view.

Now & Then: Well, I agree that they were picking and choosing what he was going to include, but ...

Wenger: He cited some projects we probably shouldn't have funded. I would acknowledge that. In 1977 I was Gov. Rockefeller's alternate member to the commission. And I can think of a project or two out of the many we funded that year that I'd like to have back, but hindsight's 20-20.

Now & Then: One way to look at how well projects have accomplished their goals might be to look at poverty levels, and you can see from the various maps of the early years and then in '70 and '80 that the poverty levels did drop over the years. Whether or not you can attribute that directly to ARC programs or not I don't know.

Wenger: What I think is the most honest thing to say is that we have played a key role in the decrease in the level of poverty in the decrease of the level of unemployment, the improvement of the skills training of the labor force, the improvement of health conditions in the region, the creation of private sector jobs, the ease of transportation in the region compared to 30 years ago. But it is also important to say that there've been many factors that have played roles. There are also counties in the region that are probably, from an economic standpoint, no better off than they were 30 years ago.

I think we've done a terrific job. In some places we've been more successful than others. But it's undeniable that the commission has played a key role in economic improvement in the region, and we've done it with extremely limited resources.

Now & Then: When you say extremely limited resources, you're talking about billions of dollars.

Wenger: We've spent \$6 billion over almost 30 years. Most federal programs spend that much in less than a year.

Now & Then: Could you measure ARC's impact by looking at the counties that the roads have gone through and seeing what has happened economically?

Wenger: Yes, we did a study during the 1980s, and what we found was that 80 percent of the new private sector jobs created in the region have been in counties that have had either a new interstate or a new Appalachian highway. To me that's clear evidence of the importance of the road.

There's plenty of anecdotal data as well. I saw statistics the other day about the impact of the New River Bridge in West Virginia on economic development on that part of the state, and it is terrific. The New River Bridge, which was built by the Appalachian Regional Commission as part of corridor L in West Virginia (which they are now going to four-lane as a part of that money that's appropriated) made that whole part of the state much more accessible. Now there's a major tourism industry in that part of the state which is bringing in considerable new dollars. You can see the impact on Beckley. When I lived in Beckley in the late '60s, it was a wonderful little town, but it was a small place. It is a thriving place now with many hotels and many restaurants.

Now & Then: Through the '80s it seemed the projects stressed getting industry moving: supporting a timber industry in Pennsylvania, for instance, promoting tourism, or bringing in a retirement community, something like Hendersonville, N.C. I'm wondering if the commission investigates the consequences of such programs. For instance, when there's development of the tourism industry, you may only get seasonal work that doesn't improve economic conditions for most of the residents.

Wenger: That's a difficult issue. I could certainly make the case that there's certain kinds of industries that create low-paying jobs that are not the most desirable kinds of jobs. On the other hand, they do create jobs. For the most part the commission has left those decisions to state and local officials; that's where those decisions have to be made.

Now & Then: But the federal government is in the business of regulation. What about the Pennsylvania timber industry the ARC money helped develop? Who benefits from that? Is that just making a few people very well-to-do and giving a few others some seasonal employment and also deforesting, or is there really an overall benefit? That is the kind of thing the federal government can involve itself in.

Wenger: It is. But I think that we get ourselves in a very difficult position if we say to a local development district whose board is composed of local community leaders, local business leaders and elected officials, if we are to say to them, "I'm sorry, we think this is not a good project and we won't fund it." Then we are doing what many federal agencies have been criticized for and that is imposing an inside-the-beltway Washington, D.C., view on a local community. Now, I do think that we have a reason to ensure that the environment is not destroyed and that the environmental rules and regulations and laws are upheld. We have an obligation to ensure that people are not exploited; we have an obligation to ensure that there is equal opportunity for everybody.

Now & Then: As I read through the various literature coming from ARC over the years, it seemed that there were, if not changes in philosophy, a shifting of balance; certainly in the '80s, there did seem to be more emphasis on economics, industry expansion, encouraging industry.

Wenger: The commission does not exist in a vacuum. We reflect largely the political views of the day. After all, 50 percent of the authority for making decisions in this organization belongs to 13 elected governors. The other 50 percent belongs to a person appointed by the president. So clearly the commission policies and views will reflect the politics of the times. That's inevitable because of the way we're structured. You can make your own judgment about whether that's good or bad. But that's who we are. I think that showed in the '80s. I'm not a great fan of Ronald Reagan. For eight years Ronald Reagan tried to abolish this agency, and I was always struck by the seeming contradiction between the fact that there were people—and Appalachia was no different from the rest of the country—people who loved Ronald Reagan and yet loved programs like ARC that he was trying to eliminate.

Now & Then: I always found that kind of curious.

Wenger: I always found that really curious. I've been here 12 and a half years, eight of those were Ronald Reagan years. I gave a lot of speeches in those eight years in various places in the region in which I talked about this program and how important it was and how good it was and how much difference it had made. I'd get standing ovations from people about it. They'd say, "Yeah, we gotta keep this program, by golly. This is a great program." And 80 percent of those people voted for Ronald Reagan. I can't explain that.

But, having said that, in the '60s and '70s I think we reflected the views of the time, doing things that helped people live a bet-

Decisions that were made in the '80s reflected our need to survive in an adversarial relationship with the administration.

ter quality of life: health care, education, job training. Those were vitally important because those kinds of things are crucial in establishing a foundation for economic growth and development. You're not going to have effective economic development unless you have healthy people, well-trained people, well educated people living a good quality of life, a dignified life.

Now in the '80s, the big emphasis was in private sector. And the commission was trying very hard to survive in an adversarial relationship with the administration. There is no question that we did things that we felt were vital to the survival of the commission. I don't think we did anything that in any way compromised our mission or goals; at the same time there is no question that some decisions that were made reflected the political tenor of the times and reflected our need to survive in an adversarial relationship with the administration.

What I think is going to happen in the upcoming years first of all, I think we'll have more money. By more money, I mean more money than we had in the Reagan and Bush years. Our highest level of funding was during the Carter years. [\$305 million in 1979]. But I think we'll have more money than we've had in recent years. And I think we'll be more likely to do more varied

types of things. I don't think there's anything wrong with a requirement that private sector jobs be produced by projects that we fund; that's been one of the rules that we've had. I do think we're likely to be more flexible in that because I think there's good reasons for doing projects other than simply creating private sector jobs. I think we're likely to focus more attention on the most distressed counties in the region. I applaud that. And I applaud an administration that supports the commission rather than opposing it.

Now & Then: And you feel like this one has?

Wenger: Oh yeah. They recommended a freeze at current levels. After 12 years of fighting against zero budget or significant budget cuts, to have a president come in and recommend that over the next five years we be frozen at essentially current levels (which is not the level recommended by previous administration but the level enacted by Congress) which is a reasonable amount, I find that very supportive — absolutely.

Now & Then: The people who read this magazine would probably love to know how you would go about influencing the policy and priorities of the ARC.

Wenger: Through the governors. And through local development districts on the assumption that the local development districts will have some influence with the governors. There'll be legislation in Congress — you can always influence legislation by dealing with your Congressman. There're a lot of ways to do it. Beyond that, I think we try to be uniquely sensitive to local concerns, and I think we will be more so in the Clinton administration than we've been able to in recent years.

See, one of the problems during the '80s, when you fight for survival, all of your energy, your psychological energy, your creative energy, your emotional energy goes into surviving, and you don't do as good a job as when you feel comfortable and secure about your survival and you can focus on long-term planning, on creative ideas.

Part of my job ought to be, and is, to try to reflect governors' views or policies or that sort of thing or try to promote policy initiatives that reflect the interest of the states and the governors and the local communities and that sort of thing. Well, when you're spending so much of your time and energy on just trying to make sure you stay alive, you don't have a lot left over to do the creative innovative things for which the commission I think became famous in the '60s and '70s.

Now & Then: You sound like you've been kind of beleaguered.

Wenger: Well, I'd say more during the Reagan years than the Bush years. But yeah! We have felt under attack for a dozen years. Actually the change from the Reagan administration to the Bush administration felt like a slight weight lifted from our shoulders because President Bush was not trying to kill us. He wasn't advocating that we get much money, but at least he wasn't trying to kill the program. But the election now of a president who supports the program feels like an enormous weight lifted from our shoulders. I think the best days of the commission are ahead. And the best days for the region.

—Interviewed by Pat Arnow

White from page 5

Policies Board and four as a consultant. Nine of the ARC states were in the Southern Growth Policies Board area, so there's an overlap. We worked with the ARC at Southern Growth on some projects, and I've always had a great respect both for the mission and the work of the agency. Secondly, I really believe in the federal-state partnership dimension of ARC which is unique in Washington. For eight years I worked with the governors of the South on economic development and the ARC will put me back in the position of working with the governors again.

Now & Then: Do you consider Appalachia to be any different from the rest of the South?

White: Like I said in my confirmation hearing, I'm sure there are mountain nuances that I need to learn. I'm sure there are special characteristics to the Appalachian region that helped create the character of the South but are also individualistic, and I'm looking forward to becoming more acquainted with those. I do think that Appalachia shares many characteristics with the larger region in which it exists.

Now & Then: What sorts of experience do you have with Appalachia? How well do you know the region's history, culture, and development patterns?

White: Only through my work with the south generally. Only to the degree that it's a part of the south that I have studied and worked on for the last 12 years. I haven't done any special work in Appalachia per se.

Now & Then: Are you familiar with the Appalachian Studies programs at various colleges and universities and people who are involved in the Appalachian Studies Association?

White: I'm aware of them but I can't say that I know them. I'm familiar with the Center for Appalachian Studies and Services, the program at Berea College and some of the other programs but I have not actually visited with them.

Now & Then: Do you feel that there is strong evidence that the

To me economic development is not just building highways, water and sewer systems, and industrial parks ...

ARC projects have really improved quality of life for people in areas touched by those projects?

White: I think so. There is a study recently concluded by a couple of professors at West Virginia University called the "Economic Effects of the Appalachian Regional Commission; An empirical assessment of twenty-seven years of regional development policy." By most accounts this is a most rigorous study. They took all the Appalachian counties and found surrogate counties with similar characteristics at the beginning of the program and traced what happened to the ARC counties and their twin counties. The report showed conclusively that

the ARC has had a big impact. It's obvious that in parts of the region great progress has been made, and in other parts there are still deep-seated problems of underdevelopment.

Now & Then: How do you understand the term development? What does it mean to you when you think of development?

White: I distinguish between economic growth and economic development. Economic growth I think we've been pretty good at in the South, getting in more jobs, building industrial parks ... short term indicators. Economic development is the creation of capacity in your system, whether it be city, county, state, or region, the development of capacity for self-sustaining growth. That refers to the building of your human capital base, your infrastructure, your research capacity, telecommunications capacity, more long-term investment strategies. I think in much of the region we've been obsessed with simple job growth and tended to ignore economic development.

I have been a long-time critic of the fact that in the South we have defined economic development as industrial recruitment. I believe that has, in too many cases, created a sort of passive and almost insulting mind-set that somehow people outside the region are creating the jobs and we have to go get them and bring them in. I am much more interested in seeing the region develop its entrepreneurial base, growing our own companies, and asking what is the appropriate public policy and public role in creating an environment for small business creation, success and growth. How do we strengthen our existing industry base, instead of just being obsessed with going out and participating in the buffalo hunt.

Now & Then: What direction do you think ARC's going to take now?

White: I think we're at the point in our history, and have been for the last 10 or 15 years, where education and training and economic development are pretty much synonyms. I think if I bring a bias into the federal co-chairmanship it is very much on the human resource side of the equation. I think of economic development as education, training and re-training, and strengthening at-risk families, and I hope to reemphasize some of those. To me economic development is not just building highways, water and sewer systems, and industrial parks, even though that's important.

Now & Then: I find often that culture is overlooked in the equation. How do you plan to address that?

White: I'll have to come up to speed a little more on what some of the cultural programs of the ARC have been. I do feel that cul-



Jesse L. White Jr., President Clinton's appointee as federal co-chair of ARC.

ture and the arts have a role to play in economic development. Flannery O'Connor said, "beauty is our money crop in the South," and I think our culture and our land go together to help create the specialness of our places. They are defensible on humanistic grounds, but they are also very defensible and important on purely economic development grounds.

Now & Then: How does the ARC determine policy? How do they determine what gets funded?

White: Keep in mind that I'm not there yet, but the way I understand it, the commission consists of the 13 governors and the federal co-chairman. The 13 governors collectively have one vote and the federal co-chairman, representing the president and the federal interests, has one vote. We get together and the commission sets the policy. Within that policy each state develops an annual project plan that is submitted within the guidelines adopted by the commission, and those plans are subject to approval by the full commission. There is both commission policy and much state involvement in crafting what the yearly projects will be. Of course, the Appalachian Highway system is more set in concrete because it is a part of a congressionally designated highway system. It's a matter of just proceeding with the building of that system. I do think states have leeway in what they build first. There is money for access roads which gives some flexibility to it.

Now & Then: Do you think Clinton will continue to support ARC throughout his administration?

White: I think Clinton is very committed to the idea of regional economic development. Clinton is very big on those types of approaches.

Now & Then: Do you think Vice President Al Gore's interest in things like the information highway and community empowerment will have any sort of effect on ARC?

White: I would hope so. I haven't talked to the vice president but a lot of his ideas are certainly compatible.

Now & Then: How do you respond to things like the *Reader's Digest* article that criticized ARC for mostly "pork barreling" and not really addressing the region's neediest places and most persistent poverty?

We mountaineers are more closely tied to the national government than we are to the South or to our local and state government, and we are generally supportive of national policies, even though these policies have often been fickle, so far as the mountains are concerned"

— Loyal Jones,
"Appalachian Values" (1973)

White: I don't agree that it hasn't affected the region. I think you have to remember that from 1980 to 1988 there was presidential hostility to the agency. In fact, President Reagan tried to kill it every year. Then under Bush there was at least presidential indifference. But there has been no real executive interest and so, as a result, Congress has taken control of the funding of the agency to a degree that a normal checks-and-balances system has not kept it in balance. As a result you have seen the practice of "earmarking" increase in the last 10 years in which special projects are added to the ARC budget. I think this has led to the criticism that there is pork barrel involved. In point of fact, if you look at the core budget of the ARC without the earmarking, it is addressing the fundamental needs of the region just like it has been for 30 years. To that degree, I would disagree with the *Reader's Digest* article.

Now & Then: Do you know if ARC is looking internationally at regional development? In Appalachian Studies, a lot of the work we are doing is comparative study of mountain cultures worldwide. I wondered if there is anything going on at ARC that is that kind of a comparative look at regional development?

White: I'm not sure about the ARC's involvement in that aspect but will look into it. One of our major accomplishments at the Southern Growth Policies Board was to put the international agenda before our states. I'm a very strong believer in that. For example, one thing the ARC funds is industrial networking which is a model that came out of northern Italy. I'm certainly committed to this type of cross-national learning.

Now & Then: Do you foresee a time when there won't be an ARC? When the goals of the commission will have been met?

White: As I said in my confirmation testimony, when the region reaches parity with the nation — and not just for a quarter or for a year but for a period of time in which it is clear that it has made it — then there would be no need for the ARC. But I think it would be a mistake to look at the aggregate statistics because, in point of fact, what you have within ARC are several different regions and levels of prosperity. The commission itself has addressed this by establishing three tiers of counties. They have distressed counties which can get up to 80 percent federal funding, prospering counties which can only get 20 percent, and then the "regular" counties which get the normal 50 percent. So even within commission policy, this differentiation or disaggregation of the region is recognized. The commission is not allowed under law to propose changing the boundaries of the ARC. Congress must address the issue of what counties need to stay in and what counties perhaps can graduate out. Or perhaps there could be a national program of distressed counties based on a federal-state partnership. It's clear politically that it is difficult to sustain a federal program that only affects 13 states. You have 37 other states that are paying taxes and not getting anything out of it, so the ARC more than almost any other federal agency has to really be careful to justify itself in terms of national policy.

— Interviewed by Jean Haskell Speer

Cuomo from page 7

gional interest are advanced by members of the State Legislature for their respective districts.

Now & Then: What do you see as the most pressing economic issues of the Appalachian region?

Cuomo: The most significant economic issues are those related to job retention and job development. The manufacturing sector is of particular importance as it has historically been the principal job-development sector in this region. It has suffered a substantial decline over the past two decades, which reflects this sector's national decline.

Now & Then: What do you see as the best way to improve the economic situation in Appalachia?

Cuomo: Continue work through regional and local agencies at retaining the existing economic base of the region. The existing

The Appalachian program has been one of the key ways in which we have identified issues and, more importantly, developed solutions to some of the most significant problems.

manufacturing and commercial base are more likely to provide job opportunities and retain the current structure within this region.

Now & Then: What efforts are being made in your state to diversify the economic base of the Appalachian region?

Cuomo: New York has attempted to provide the infrastructure to support job expansion, including a current initiative on telecommunications that will provide opportunities for the economic base to compete on the national and global economies. Another example is the ceramic sector which has been a key element in this region for many years. Over the past several years, an effort has been made to build upon this sector including the establishment of a ceramic corridor with two ceramic sector incubators for job development.

Now & Then: How does the condition of the environment in the Appalachian portion of your state compare to the rest of the state?

Cuomo: The condition of the environment in the Appalachian area of New York is generally quite good. As the region is largely rural, the impact of any industrial pollution has not been as great. The region historically has been a significant agricultural area which has declined in part due to economic conditions, but also because of the relatively severe topography and related soil conditions. Much of the land has returned to forest as agriculture declined.

Now & Then: What particular issues affect health care in the region?

Cuomo: Health care accessibility for all residents is the key health-related issue in Appalachian New York. Because of its predominantly rural character, long driving distances, and socio-economic status, large portions of the Appalachian region are underserved by health professionals and health institutions. There are at present 18 federally-designated Health Professional Shortage Areas in 11 of the 14 counties of Appalachian New York.

Now & Then: What innovative health-care initiatives have been taken in your state?

Cuomo: A major concern is finding ways to ensure the fiscal health of endangered rural hospitals and the clinics they sponsor. Rural health partnerships have been established with Appalachian Regional Commission support throughout most of Appalachian New York. In New York these partnerships include consumers as well as health-care providers and institutions to develop programs for coordinated services to address specific needs.

Now & Then: How do you rank the quality of education in the Appalachian region of your state against the rest of the state?

Cuomo: New York State has always had a strong component of state supervision in its educational system through the Board of Regents. The concern has been to insure to the extent possible, equal educational opportunity for all. As a practical matter, the rural geography of Appalachian New York and the smaller size of many school districts in the region have made attempts to ensure complete educational equity throughout the 14-county region difficult. Urban and suburban school districts have traditionally offered more educational options, particularly at the secondary level, than have rural school districts.

Now & Then: Has your state initiated any innovative educational reforms that will benefit the region?

Cuomo: With Appalachian Regional Commission support we have been encouraging regional Boards of Cooperative Education Services (BOCES) to implement telecommunications projects to connect rural school districts into audio, video, and data networks. The attempt is to utilize these networks to increase educational opportunity and ultimately to create tie-ins with other functional activities, such as health, business, local government, and public access.

The New York State Education Department has recently focused attention on two initiatives. The "New Compact for Learning" emphasizes the importance of encouraging "equity of outcome" through provision of sufficient resources in conjunction with collaborative local initiative among teachers, parents, businesses and educational institutions. These partnership arrangements are seen as a key to improving educational performance for all. The "Long Range Plan for Technology in El-

ementary and Secondary Education in New York State” emphasizes increased use of technology to meet contemporary demands for educational change and relevance. The complete integration of technology into the teaching and learning environments of schools is promoted as is increasing access to the statewide Technology Network Ties telecommunications system. The BOCES telecommunications projects are seen as fostering the implementation of the Long Range Plan.

Now & Then: Are the students in the Appalachian region equally prepared to compete for and succeed in the jobs available to them in and outside of the region?

Cuomo: With the implementation of the state educational initiatives and continued support by agencies such as the Appalachian Regional Commission for telecommunications development in Appalachian New York, we believe that students in this region can increasingly compete for jobs both within and outside the region.

Now & Then: Do you feel the Appalachian region has a distinct cultural heritage that should be preserved?

Cuomo: There are a variety of cultural heritages in the Southern Tier of New York. They relate more to immigration patterns from the 19th century rather than any unifying regional heritage. For example, in the eastern region, Johnson City and Endicott focused on the shoe industry. The central region has long related to the glass and ceramic industry. Sections of the western region were developed focusing on furniture, and have a strong Scandinavian background. Some of these heritages are being preserved through local and regional programs.

Now & Then: Can you identify any particularly isolated populations within the Appalachian region which may experience unique problems due to their isolation?

Cuomo: There really are no isolated populations within this region in the national context. Obviously rural areas traditionally have had less population densities, and their resulting lack of infrastructure has affected them. The transportation element of the ARC program has resulted in some abatement of this isolation in the regional context.

Now & Then: Does the Appalachian region see more or less crime than the rest of your state? Is there a particular type of crime that seems to be more prevalent?

Cuomo: Crime has not been a particular problem in this region, at least in comparison to the rest of the state. Concerns related to drugs have affected this section of the state, but not to any greater extent in this region than in any other rural area.

Now & Then: What stereotypes about the region do you come across in your capacity as a politician?

Cuomo: There are really no stereotypes related to this region. It is a largely rural area viewed as generally conservative in its political perspective.

Now & Then: How much political clout does the Appalachian region have in your state?



Rod Sutton Photography of Sidney

Quilting at the Adult Day Care Facility sponsored by LARC of Sidney, Inc., located in the village of Sidney in Delaware County, N.Y. This is the first ARC-sponsored elder care program in the region.

Cuomo: This region has produced its share of influential political leaders. The current lieutenant governor, Stan Lundine, comes from this region. The legislature also has had several recent leaders from this region, including former Assembly Majority Leader James Tallon and former Senate Majority Leader Warren M. Anderson.

Now & Then: What federal agencies are most important specifically to Appalachia and what has been the impact?

Cuomo: The Appalachian Regional Commission has made a significant positive contribution to this region. It operates as a separate program closely coordinated with the state's economic development, education, social services, and transportation programs. It is administered by the state's local government services agency and provides resources for a broad range of activities that support the human and economic development resources of this area.

Now & Then: Do you feel the present boundary of the Appalachian Region (as defined by the ARC) adequately reflects a cohesive geo-political unit?

Cuomo: The present ARC region generally reflects the Southern Tier region of New York, which is appropriate. There have been discussions over specific county boundaries and their relevance to the Southern Tier/Appalachian region. However, on the whole, the boundaries appropriately reflect the region in New York.

Now & Then: How do you work with the Appalachian Regional Commission?

Cuomo: We have an excellent organization that involves cooperative arrangements with local governments, counties, local development districts, and the Department of State, working with the Appalachian Regional Commission. These agencies cooperate in the identification and funding of appropriate projects that meet the needs of the region and reflect the priorities of the state and the identified ARC initiatives.

Now & Then: What services does the commission directly provide to benefit your state?

Cuomo: The ARC focus is on allowing states to select an area of particular local or regional interest rather than directing a "federal" approach is its strength. Because this is a joint federal-state commission, it has stood the test of time and pro-

vided benefits that go beyond the limited resources that have been provided.

Now & Then: Is the ARC an effective mechanism for promoting regional cooperation?

Cuomo: As New York is the northernmost state in this region, its cooperative efforts have involved Pennsylvania, and to some extent, Ohio and West Virginia. Communities in northern Pennsylvania and the Southern Tier of New York have cooperated on various projects and transportation issues.

Now & Then: Are there other areas in which ARC should be involved?

Cuomo: The ARC program has a rather broad perspective and application. It has been expanded over the years to meet most of the significant issues facing this region. Its concerns are adequately addressed considering the limited resources available. Any expansions of its objectives should be directly related to a corresponding increase in funding.



Gov. Cuomo's response to a questionnaire from Now & Then was prepared by Gail S. Shaffer, Cuomo's alternate on the Appalachian Regional Commission. Compiled by Nancy Fischman.

For The Cutover Woods of Dixie

Southern culture, up the river,
a place to come home to where the sweat
of heavy labor has dissected the earth
into rotting wood junkyards ...



Errol Miller

Errol Miller's poetry has appeared in many poetry publications. Recent publications include Southern Beat, James River Review, Appalachian Heritage, and Chattahoochee Review.

Far removed from the Delta's humid madness, to
each of us is given a rural hymn to sing: lately,
late at night, I sense a sense of place here
in this dilapidated boneyard of poverty
where the sun beats down
on skinny pines gasping for breath, a local
roadside abstraction on a planet
ripe with lust for manufactured things.

O Lord of the Long Nap, something
is moving in my net, fermenting, ruling over me,
something sweet and sour like Dixie's
lingering dreams. There is festering within me
a sense of history, of myself, of the earth, of all
the great structures of commerce boarded up,
that reverse momentum where the wind
sways through the trees for a while before
the workmen come to silence the music.

— Errol Miller



Scott Champney, Associate Professor of Biochemistry, instructs Schunn Price and Marlyn Hunter in the Premedical Reinforcement and Enrichment Program (PREP) run by the James H. Quillen College of Medicine and East Tennessee State University. PREP assists minority and disadvantaged undergraduate students from Tennessee and surrounding states in preparing for health careers. The College of Medicine was established 20 years ago to provide a community-based program emphasizing primary care. Because of its reputation in rural and interdisciplinary health care, ETSU became one of six recipients of a Kellogg Foundation grant for its Community Partnership Program, an interdisciplinary approach to health professions education. This innovative program puts Northeast Tennessee in the forefront of national health care reform.

Sasser from page 7

area, and I have worked to secure substantial funding to acquire lands at the Big South Fork that would otherwise be overrun by development. I have also worked with the United States Forest Service to develop a suitable venue at the Ocoee River in Polk County, Tenn., for the 1996 Olympics kayaking events. For many years I have worked with conservation groups and the U.S. Forest Service to devise a sensible long-range plan for the Cherokee National Forest.

While tourism is important to Appalachia, much more must be done to provide jobs for people in the region. The federal government plays a direct role in that effort through a program that targets the economic problems of Appalachia—the Appa-

see a protracted debate in which all sides will be heard. I expect a composite bill, made up of parts from legislative initiatives already on the table, will be set for floor debate sometime in the late summer or early fall of this year. However, with an issue this complicated and affecting the lives of so many people, it is possible that a final vote may not come until 1995.

I believe that the federal government should continue its commitment to the Appalachian region. Progress has been made over the years in bringing prosperity to the people of Appalachia, but much remains to be done.



Sen. Sasser's response to a questionnaire from Now and Then was prepared by his staff. Compiled by Nancy Fischman.

Appalachia — A Democratic Territory

Nearly two-thirds of the 99 national office holders and governors in Appalachia are Democrats. The Appalachian Regional Commission's 13-state territory (West Virginia and parts of 12 other states) is

represented by 13 governors, 26 senators, and 60 representatives (all or parts of their districts). Nine of the 13 governors are Democrats. The majority of Senators are also Democrats: 16 of the 26. In the House

there are 32 Democratic representatives and 28 Republicans. In total representation — governors, senators, and representatives — there are 57 Democrats, and 42 Republicans.

Dead Laws for Dead Men: The Politics of Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Legislation

by Daniel J. Curran

University of Pittsburgh Press
127 North Bellefield Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15260
1993

\$39.95 (hardback)

Theories in the study of mine health and safety legislation generally address two basic questions: Why were particular laws enacted when they were? And why have these laws done so little to guarantee the safety of miners? In his Introduction to *Dead Laws for Dead Men*, Daniel Curran invokes two adages from the oral history of the coalfields to illustrate the traditional responses to those questions: "Dead miners are the most powerful in securing the passage of mining legislation," and "King Coal rules."

There is strong evidence to support each adage. In regard to the first, the relationship between mining disasters and the origin of federal health and safety legislation is quite clear. The passage of each significant health and safety law has followed a major mine disaster or a series of such catastrophes. The second statement refers to the well-documented exploitative relationship between owners and workers in the coal industry and infers that the industry is able to use its disproportionate power and influence to ensure that safety legislation is full of loopholes and is weakly enforced.

Curran acknowledges the basic truth underlying both the "disaster-law" and "class" explanations, but argues that each is too selective and simplistic. Both fail to recognize that the legislation process is complex and multidimensional, with different social situations leading to different types of laws, and that the state plays a variety of roles in this process, simulta-

neously striving to pacify labor while meeting capitalist economic needs.

Curran sets forth an alternative paradigm that views law creation and implementation as a crisis-resolving process employed to maintain existing economic and social arrangements. He argues that miners' protests and public concern over disasters do not regularly lead to corrective measures; rather, they are often ignored, becoming significant during periods of industry prosperity, when coal is in demand. Only when workers are in a secure enough position to cause a serious disruption of the production process at the national level can they exert effective pressure for legislation. At that point, the state puts forth a solution that will appease workers without interfering too drastically with the production process itself. This legislative solution usually addresses the symptoms rather than the source of the problems. This ultimately renders the law and its enforcement mechanisms ineffective and paves the way for future disasters.

In support of this paradigm, Curran offers an historical overview of the coal industry and the rise of trade unionism in the coalfields. He then examines federal efforts to address the issue of mine safety throughout this century, ending with a contemporary analysis of the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 and the Amendments Act of 1977.

Two prominent subthemes in Curran's analysis deserve special attention. The first is how structural constraints created by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) leadership and the legal limits on labor militancy have led to a form of "business unionism" which has hindered efforts for safer working conditions for miners. The second is the way in which the Mine Enforcement and Safety Administration (MESA), the bureaucracy established to implement and enforce mine safety legislation, functioned as the major legitimating agent for the state in the

coalfields. As each law expanded MESA's scope and personnel, the agency became increasingly visible, serving to reassure miners that government was doing its job, while in practice it was failing to achieve its stated primary goal—a major reduction of death and injury in the mines.

Dead Laws for Dead Men is important for a variety of reasons. It offers easy access to a wealth of statistics on mine health and safety in the United States and Europe. It helps us better understand how the consoling rhetoric of our mine safety legislation often conceals the reality of its ineffectiveness. Especially valuable is Curran's discussion of how the 1969 act, the world's most punitive statute regulating the coal industry, helped to protect and improve existing economic arrangements for the owners. Also enlightening is his examination of the brutal legacy of the Reagan administration's deregulatory measures on mine safety. Finally, Curran's analysis serves as a warning for those who look uncritically to government for solutions to the problems that plague Appalachia.

Yet, many in Appalachian Studies will find Curran's book frustrating. Much of his historical overview covers familiar ground and is presented in more depth elsewhere. He ignores relevant works in Appalachian Studies, most notably Ron Eller's history of the coalfields and Herb Reid and Tom Shannon's insightful work on the role of the state in Appalachia. Curran glosses over situations his theory can't explain, such as why the average annual fatality rate in the mines dropped during Reagan's second term. But Curran's most glaring failure is his unwillingness to discuss seriously the implications of his analysis for meaningful political change. Without any consideration of the most appropriate political strategies for miners and their supporters, Curran leaves us, in the end, with little but the knowledge that in the future we will likely see more dead laws for dead miners.

—Stephen L. Fisher

"Government has never pretended to serve both Appalachias impartially. Appalachia One [the Appalachia of Power and Wealth] routinely raises money to persuade and bribe Appalachia Two [the Exploited Appalachia] to elect candidates acceptable to wealth and power."

— Harry Caudill, "Oh Appalachia" in *Intellectual Digest*, April 1973

Steve Fisher is Hawthorne Professor of Political Science at Emory & Henry College and is the editor of *Fighting Back in Appalachia: Traditions of Resistance and Change* published by Temple University Press in 1993.

Reviews

Fighting Back in Appalachia Traditions of Resistance and Change

edited by Stephen L. Fisher

Temple University Press
Broad & Oxford Streets
Philadelphia, PA 19122
1993

\$49.95 (hardcover)

\$19.95 (paperback)

The history of dissent and resistance in Appalachia is known to many, if not most, natives of the region. From the resistance of Native American tribes to colonization and relocation, the struggle of miners to organize into unions for better pay and working conditions, to the social, economic and environmental issues of the day — the region is as rich as any other in the country with the tradition of dissent and the desire to be free from oppression.

But, the tradition of Appalachia, perhaps as with other regions, is rife with contradiction.

It is the struggle for individual rights. It is the struggle for freedom for groups. It is the search for economic prosperity. It is the fight against the dislocation that economic prosperity must sometimes bring. It is the desire to hold onto tradition and the yearning for change. It is the search for meaning in a thicket tangled with cynicism, skepticism, powerlessness and despair. It is the disparate voices of millions, singing a million different songs, searching for harmony.

Yet, against the backdrop of conflicting interests and goals, people come together and fight to effect change. Sometimes they prevail. In other times they fail.

Still, common threads bind the tapestries of group dissent. What are these commonalities and what do they say about us as a people? Why do we fail at some tasks and succeed at others? What do they tell us about the condition of life in Appalachia today and what do they portend for the future?

In a series of 16 essays collected from the halls of academia and the trenches of organized opposition, Stephen L. Fisher seeks to "rethink and reconstruct the na-

ture of resistance in the region and to understand the ways in which this resistance is similar to or different from dissent in other parts of the nation."

The book is organized into three sections. The first serves as a practical handbook for the disenfranchised seeking redress. The second section begins to explore the opportunities for coalition-building between groups so that change can be effected across a broader spectrum of issues. The final section examines the underlying theories of dissent and lays the groundwork for a paradigm to take dissent into the next millennium.

The first section is a collection of satisfying essays detailing the organizational successes and pitfalls of the Highlander Center, Save Our Cumberland Mountains (SOCM), Community Farm Alliance and others. It also illustrates, in the example of strip mining, the short-term consequences in reaching for long-term goals: "A part of me could understand that these people wanted those jobs for good reasons. And I never felt like it should be us against them, and that always bothered me that that was the way that it seemed to be."

Empowerment carries other consequences. For instance, the role of women in the battle against strip mining proved pivotal. In addition to traditional behind-the-front-lines support, women began to take an active role in planning and ex-

ecution of civil disobedience. As their experience and participation grew, women began to examine and question other fundamental assumptions about gender. By the late 1970s, women were beginning to turn up in non-traditional jobs like mining and construction.

Clearly, this was happening at a time when the entire nation was undergoing similar change, but it can be, and is, argued that the additional cultural barriers in Appalachia governing the role of women were overcome in large measure through the experiences of resistance.

Fisher has brought together three distinct voices — the academic, the organizer, the layman — to paint a mural depicting the history of dissent in Appalachia over the past 30 years. Always, at the center of this mural, are the faces of the people who have inhabited this region for the past two centuries, faces etched with hope and determination.

"As Connie White, a past SOCM president, puts it ..." Fisher writes, "We don't just care about winning issues; we care more about helping people get stronger. In the long run, that is how you win issues and make real changes."

— Keith Miles

Keith Miles is state director of communications for Sen. Jim Sasser. He is a 1980 graduate of East Tennessee State University.

Making History The First Ten Years of KFTC

Edited by Melanie Zuercher

Kentuckians for the Commonwealth

P.O. Box 864

Prestonsburg, KY 41653

1991

\$15 (hardback)

In 1981, KFTC stood for Kentucky Fair Tax Coalition, a group of mostly coalfield citizens who stood for collecting taxes from outside interests who owned rich underground mineral deposits on which eastern Kentuckians lived and from which they received no tax benefits.

KFTC broadened to embrace the central and western part of the state and to address other environmental and economic issues. The organization's name

was broadened to Kentuckians for the Commonwealth.

The group campaigned tirelessly. In 1988, 82 percent of Kentucky voters endorsed amendment of the broad form deed, and the state began to collect taxes on unmined minerals.

This blow-by-blow account of that battle, sprinkled with first-person accounts by some of the fighters, is a rousing, gratifying testament to the power of grass roots determination. Equally engaging is the evolution of the coalition itself as members learn by trial and error how to deal with one another.

KFTC's motto could be: "We have met our champion, and it is us."

— Laurene Scalf

Laurene Scalf is a writer and actor who lives in Louisville, Ky.

The Appalachian Regional Commission: Twenty-Five years of Government Policy

by Michael Bradshaw

University Press of Kentucky
663 South Limestone Street
Lexington, KY 40506-0336
1992

\$21 (hardback)

The ebb and flow of life in Appalachia since the 1960s has been influenced by any number of factors. Some have been unique to the region while others have swept the entire nation.

The federal government has long had a presence of varying degree in the fortunes of Appalachian residents, from the taking of huge tracts of land for national forests and parks at the turn of the century to the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority during the New Deal. The impact, however, has been patchwork at best and as the rest of the country surged with the economic vitality of the 1950s and 1960s, Appalachia was left increasingly behind.

The geography, stretching from Pennsylvania to Georgia, rugged and striated with mountains, did much to isolate the region from its neighbors. The soil was poor and the topography discouraged large-scale agriculture.

The Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC), chartered in 1965, was charged with bringing economic parity to the Appalachians. As such, the ARC marked the first time since the New Deal that national policy was set to assist a particular region.

Michael Bradshaw sets out to answer three questions in *The Appalachian Regional Commission*: Did ARC fulfill its original charge? Has ARC made a difference in the life of Appalachians? Can or should ARC be used as a model for other regions?

**"In Appalachia,
property is theft."
— John Gaventa**

For Bradshaw the answer is a resounding yes and he buttresses his argument with an impressive array of facts and figures, densely packed in uninspired prose.

Clearly, one did not have to look too far or too deeply into the Appalachia of the 1950s to see problems. In the North, the iron and steel industry faced outmoded factories and stiff competition from abroad, cheap oil and gas was depressing the coal industry in Central Appalachia and, in the South, the production of cheap electricity could not overcome the barriers of poor education, health, and infrastructure.

Bradshaw notes that it was the people of Appalachia who first called attention to the growing disparity between the region and the nation. As early as the 1950s, state and local government officials were banding together to improve economic and social conditions. Pleas for federal assistance went unanswered during the Eisenhower administration, but by early 1960, the Council of Appalachian Governors had found a potential ally — presidential candidate John F. Kennedy.

"The image of Kennedy, shocked at the sight of shoeless children, made a point about the paradox of poverty and marked inequalities existing within the affluent American society of the time," Bradshaw writes. "Caring for disadvantaged people was to be a feature of the 'New Frontier' within U.S. society."

It was not until after Kennedy's death, however, that the ARC was brought into existence. Several key things happened in the years between 1960 and 1965. Foremost was the increasing cooperation between state and local officials to come to grips with the problems of the region. They, in turn, presented local political pressure on federal elected officials and bureaucrats.

According to Bradshaw, this combination of coalition building — from the local level and from Washington — is what has enabled ARC to survive until today. He notes that similar Title V commissions, spread around the country, were unable to survive the New Federalism of President Ronald Reagan. The ARC, on the other hand, targeted each year for annihilation, was able to survive with the

vocal support of Congress and the governors of Appalachian states.

ARC enjoyed this kind of support because it achieved results. The agency was able to cut through bureaucratic red tape in Washington to get federal funds and to move projects along. Further, ARC was set up so that projects were decided and developed on the local level.

In its nearly 30 years of existence, ARC has been responsible for nearly 3,000 miles of highways, opening up long-isolated areas for economic development. It has provided millions of dollars of investment in basic infrastructure like water and sewers. ARC has provided assistance for educational and health efforts.

"It has provided many basic facilities and has encouraged the development of human resources. It has been based on a federal-state relationship that has both assisted in getting federal grant aid to many of the most needy parts of Appalachia and has also helped to maintain the ARC's existence," the author writes.

Bradshaw thus argues that regional policy, at least in the case of ARC, can be successful. But it is not a panacea. It is at best a "catalyst" which provides the necessary structure and process for change, "but taking advantage of such provision must be done by individuals and groups at the local level."

Has Appalachia achieved economic parity with the rest of the nation? Bradshaw says that in some cases the answer is yes. Clearly, some large urban areas in the region are as robust as any other city in the nation. Sadly, the rural areas continue to lag behind, and ARC can at best offer mitigation of circumstances.

"Yet people living in these parts of Appalachia will point to major changes for the better in their well-being since the 1960s," states Bradshaw.

Certainly the story of Appalachia and the Appalachian Regional Commission is a compelling one. The Bradshaw book is a strong first step in the telling of that story, at least to academics and public policy planners. It remains to be told in a more cogent and human dimension for the average Appalachian resident.

— Keith Miles

Reviews

***Appalachian Portraits* by Shelby Lee Adams**

University Press of Mississippi
3825 Ridgewood Road
Jackson, Mississippi 39211-6492
1993
\$45 (hardback), \$25 (paperback)

This is a compelling and disturbing book. Shelby Lee Adams has gathered together in this volume a series of photographs made in Eastern Kentucky from 1974 to 1992. The black-and-white photographs are loosely organized portraits of people in several small, poor communities in Appalachian Kentucky. There are more in-depth studies of the Napier family and the Sloan family, of serpent-handling holiness religion, and what Adams simply calls "visits" with individuals and families in these communities. Complementing the photographs is a set of five fictionalized, narrative portraits by author Lee Smith that she says are based on interviews and conversations she and Adams had with people in the mountains.

What is compelling about this book are the complex and technically brilliant photographs. Adams' sense of composition, his eye for unusual, captivating, and often ironic detail, and his obvious insistence on the highest standards of photo reproduction are flawless. He often uses strong vertical or horizontal lines to divide separate realities in the same photograph, as in "The Home Funeral, Leatherwood, 1990," "Melissa and Brice, Johnson's Fork, 1978," and "Leddie with Children, 1990." He captures the irony of Brother Shell firehandling from a Diet Sprite bottle, the strange conflation of "Hort with Chicken, Spider, Jesus, and Elvis," church members clowning in a hubcap hat and surf gear tee shirts, and Adams' own photograph of a serpent-handler tacked on the wall behind his portrait of "Wayne's Serpent Bite, Leatherwood, 1990." Adams has a way of photographing his subjects so that their eyes are riveting, frightening, haunting, and mesmerizing for the eyes of the viewer.

What is disturbing about this book is the message it will convey about Appalachia in public consciousness. Although Adams makes clear in his introduction

that his pictures are "by no means typical of the area," that the book "should not be interpreted as a general representation of all Appalachian people or their culture," and, in fact, is a study of "people cut off from the mainstream," much of the book's rhetorical frame suggests that this work is to be interpreted as typical of Appalachia. The title of the book, *Appalachian Portraits*, introductory narratives by Lee Smith, and Adams' recurring references to "the Appalachian people" or "the mountain people" in his book will, for many people, be codes of legitimization that point not to Appalachian eccentricity and marginality but to authenticity and reinforcement of the notion that the whole of Appalachia is a strange land with peculiar people. The people in Adams' portraits seem selected, posed, and contextualized to be grotesque, Fellini-esque, and southern mountain gothic in the extreme; Diane Arbus goes to Appalachia. There is physical deformity ranging from crippled bodies to empty eye sockets to obesity, clear mental incapacity in some subjects, and unsettling guns and knives and snakes and squalor. Often the photographs are taken from angles that caricature the subjects, such as the Mammy and Pappy Yokum image of "Berthie Napier with Pipe and John, 1992," or give them a surreal quality, such as the Kafkaesque portrait of "Bert Sitting in Front of Bed, 1988." Although the photographs do reflect an admirable toughness and persistence in the face of adversity, and positive values of family connectedness, religious conviction, and a sense of humor, most viewers, I fear, will be overwhelmed by the strangeness factor and convinced that *Deliverance* was accurate, maybe even a little tame.

Lee Smith's narrative portraits seem intended to add voices to faces we see in the photographs. Her characters include "Fiddling Boy," a boy who is "not right" after an illness and must be cared for by

his mother and sisters; a man who prefers good dogs to women; a serpent-handler; a ginseng-gathering mountain recluse; a woman who leaves her church over the treatment of "little incest children"; and finally, a pregnant young girl with enormous family responsibilities who wants the picture man to make her picture "all by myself. Just me." Smith, in her usual fashion, has a fine ear for the speech and speech rhythms of people from the region, but her characters, like the photographs, focus on the strange "otherness" of mountain people.

In fairness to Adams, he makes it clear that his is an artist's exploration of "creativity, imagination, vision, repulsion, and salvation." He will, no doubt, be pleased that his photographs evoke strong feelings in viewers, even if the feelings include anger and outrage. He is creating images that reflect his view of the *kind* of Appalachian he sees and has known in these few people in this handful of communities. As the semiotician Roland Barthes has said, "photography never lies; or rather, it can lie as to the nature of the thing, being by nature tendentious, never as to its existence." While we do not deny the existence of what Adams photographs, we can and should be critical of the implications of the photographs that emerge from the packaging and marketing of the whole. We should remember the dictum of photographic critic Christopher Lyman that our imagery through whatever medium shows us what we and our culture want to see. For many viewers, this book will show the latent and lurking "truth" about Appalachia. These photographs are powerful and seductive, and therein lies their grave danger and potential disservice to the people of the region Adams purports to love.

— Jean Haskell Speer

Jean Speer's 1990 book, The Appalachian Photographs of Earl Palmer, examined a different set of images about the region.

"The distorted faces and stark gatherings give a startle effect that is incongruous with the gentle-natured people that I took care of here for six years. For example, Berthie Napier is shown in one of the early photographs almost looming on to the screen, while in real life she is quiet and reserved, hardly talking unless asked. How different she seems in this picture."

— Artie Ann Bates, a physician, writer, and teacher who lives in Eastern Kentucky, from a review of *Appalachian Portraits* in *Mountain Eagle*

Stories 'Neath the Roan Memories of the People of Yancey, Mitchell and Avery Counties at The Foot of Roan Mountain in North Carolina collected by the Blue Ridge Reading Team

Blue Ridge Reading Team
PO Box 1045
Newland, NC 28657
1993
\$9.00 (paperback)

The short pieces in *Stories 'Neath the Roan* come from the tellers themselves, giving insight into lives lived and living beneath the shadow of Roan Mountain in Western North Carolina. Collected by members of the Blue Ridge Reading Team, a grass-roots literacy program based in Avery, Mitchell, and Yancey counties, the true stories and tales reflect the histories of families long settled at the foot of "the Roan."

The authors have directly transcribed recordings made of the stories, and the reader gets the feel of rhythms and idio-

syncratic language that places the tales directly in the southern mountains. A short glossary at the end of the book defines the more obscure mountain terms for the uninitiated.

The tales are divided into sections. The first covers the settling of the Roan Mountain area. It includes a story of where the name "Roan" might have originated and a legend about the rhododendron "which grow[s] in profusion atop Roan Mountain." The book moves on to stories about people and families, working and going to school, and just plain making do in hard times. A collection of local folktales and ghost stories ends the book. Interspersed with the more serious side of life are comic stories, about a rowdy prankster brother, the trip interrupted by the discovery of a child accidentally left behind, or letting loose a rabbit in church for the dogs to chase.

A tale of the original land-grant holders in the area, identified only as Jerry and Myra, is told by one of their direct descendants, 86-year-old Zora Green. Jerry loved the land and hunting and fishing more than he loved the money he could have made by exploiting the mountain's

vast natural resources, including timber and mica. Green has written much about the history of the region, and her writing appears throughout the book, giving a story line to which the other tales act as harmony and counterpoint.

Several of the stories were collected by schoolchildren from two writing programs, one at Minneapolis Elementary School of Avery County and the other the Yancey County Young Writers Program. These family stories are an encouraging continuation of the trend begun by the Foxfire books of looking homeward for sustaining themes to be recorded. Teaching the young that there is value in the stories of their own lives is important. The stories told by both young and old in this volume and the voices used reflect an honesty and naturalness that counteracts stereotypes of Appalachia.

Illustrating the stories are photographs gathered from the storytellers, and line drawings, some of which were drawn by members of the reading team. The photographs, many of which are very old, complement the stories. The reproduction could have been enhanced by higher quality reproduction. While the relationship of

The Literacy Program That Could

The Blue Ridge Reading Team, which collected oral histories for *Stories 'Neath the Roan*, is a successful adult literacy program in Western North Carolina. Judy Carson, who was publishing project director for *Stories 'Neath the Roan*, is VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) supervisor for the five VISTA volunteers who recruit and train volunteer tutors for the Blue Ridge Reading Team. She explained that the program is so effective because all the volunteers, including those from VISTA, come from within the community. "The whole purpose of the Blue Ridge Reading Team is a neighbor-on-neighbor project. These are proud people who don't want to step forward and admit they have a problem. The tutors are people in the community and they work one-on-one. Students are not made to go any place they might feel intimidated. Tutors work in the students' homes or anywhere they might be comfortable." The local population has access to other resources for literacy action in the area at a community college, she explained, "but they have to go to the college, which is frightening. We give them enough confidence to be able to seek other kinds of help."

The adult literacy program, which began in 1986, has reached 800 residents of Avery, Mitchell, and Yancey coun-

ties. Once students reach a fifth-grade reading level they are referred to a GED program if they are interested in continuing.

The program relies on cooperation. Each participating county provides office space and some funding, either through the United Way or through the county commission. The federally funded VISTA program provides the training personnel. The reading program also raises money through fund-raising projects. The most successful has been *Stories 'Neath the Roan*. Since its publication in February 1993 it has raised over \$11,000.

The book took three years and was underwritten by a \$5,000 grant from The Community Foundation of Western North Carolina.

About 30 local merchants sell the book with no profit. Local newspapers have run ads on a space-available basis at no cost to the reading team. The books are purchased by local residents as well as visitors from as far away as California.

A major side effect of the book project has been expanded publicity about the program, which has resulted in additional students as well as volunteer tutors. Many of the merchants selling the book had not heard of the program and are now spreading the word. Some of the stories are being revised to use as supplemental reading material for the literacy students. Work has begun on a second book of stories, and a cookbook for early readers is almost ready to go to press.

—Nancy Fischman

Reviews

most of the photos to the accompanying stories is fairly obvious, it would have been interesting to have captions giving dates and identification of the subjects of the photos.

The publication of *Stories 'Neath the Roan* was assisted by a grant from The

Community Foundation of Western North Carolina. All proceeds from the sale of the book go directly toward supplementing the literacy program. The Blue Ridge Reading Team is a remarkable example of how a grass-roots organization can become a success. *Stories*

'Neath the Roan is well worth owning and reading for the insight it gives to the mountain region of Western North Carolina and for the support of this worthwhile organization.

— Nancy Fischman

Night Ride

a film by Andrew Garrison

30 minutes, color

North Fork Films

P.O. Box 577

Whitesburg, KY 41858

1993

\$100 (institutional) \$40 (individual)

Given that every third bumper sticker you see these days is MADD (Mothers Against Drunk Driving), and there is a problem with children carrying guns to school, a rite of passage story in which people are drinking, driving and shooting guns — even if it is just at road signs and the like — is an odd choice for a short fiction film. Let me hasten to add, I love the Gurney Norman story (from the book *Kinfolks* published by Gnomon Press), and in the '50s when the story takes place, it is somehow not so inappropriate as it would feel now.

Andy Garrison has been very true to the story, and this is the saving grace of the work. The film stars Frank Taylor as Delmer, William Johnson as Wilgus (and a lovely old 1957 Chevrolet). Not much happens in terms of action: Delmer picks

up his nephew Wilgus, they pop a beer, visit Delmer's girlfriend — Wilgus sits in the car — and they shoot at road signs, pee, and drive up to a burning gob pile. But the story is not in the action. Through the course of these events, you learn that Wilgus's father (Delmer's brother) is dead, and Delmer feels some obligation at least to get Wilgus out from under his grandparents, and Wilgus is grateful. They talk of Wilgus's father, how he was smart, how he could have done anything he wanted if he hadn't been killed in a coal mine. It is permission for Wilgus to dream for himself, and it is a gift.

I like the film. It is low key and beautiful to see, and takes the time it needs to tell this story. Frank Taylor is a good actor, good enough that the drinking, driving, and pistol shooting speak of Delmer's character and not of some *Deliverance*-vintage stereotype.

And one more thing: I truly admire Andy Garrison for taking risks with this kind of work, not only with the content, but by doing short fiction film, and I am particularly pleased that he is using actors from the territory — we have some very good ones — and stories of the place.

— Jo Carson

The Big Lever **directed by Frances Morton**

Appalshop Films

306 Madison Street

Whitesburg, KY 41858

1982

60-minute video \$49.95

This hour-long video about politics in Leslie County, Ky., is nearly a decade old, but it remains one of the few media examinations of local politics in Appalachia. The video centers on the campaign for county judge in 1981 between incumbent C. Allen Muncy and persistent opponent George Wooten. In the early part of the video, we are introduced to electioneering Appalachian-style — impassioned "speechings" in each precinct, personal visits to the homes of families in the county, the reliance on kinship and patronage for producing votes, and a visit to Leslie County by the Watergate-beleaguered, former President Richard Nixon. Interviews with local residents reveal how intensely personal support for a candidate is in Leslie County; the late Harry Caudill comments in the video that candidates are elected because of their personal attributes (good storyteller, personable, accommodating) rather than by any plans they may have for the future of the county. The last part of the video focuses on charges of political corruption against Muncy and the mudslinging between Muncy and Wooten as the investigation evolves. Muncy is ultimately indicted on charges of vote fraud, which he contends is trumped-up solely because Nixon came to Leslie County on his behalf. In the next election, Muncy is returned to office, but in a future election, he is defeated by an independent candidate. The film concludes with a comment that the people cannot be deceived all of the time.

— Jean Haskell Speer



Jeff Whetstone

William Johnson as Wilgus Collier and Frank Taylor as Delmer in *Night Ride*.

Reviews

The Politics of Despair Power & Resistance in the Tobacco Wars by Tracy Campbell

University Press of Kentucky
663 S. Limestone
Lexington, KY 40506-0036
\$28.00 (hardback)
1993

In this thoroughly researched and well-documented book Tracy Campbell looks at the underlying causes of the Tobacco Wars of the early 1900s in Kentucky and Tennessee. In the western Black Patch region and the Burley region in central Kentucky, sharecroppers, tenants, and landowners faced a tightening money supply and the tobacco trust created by the American Tobacco Company.

In response to the pressures of more expensive credit and decreasing prices for their product, the tobacco growers began to organize. Campbell traces the evolution of the movement from the early days of free democratic expression through the exasperating efforts to gather cooperative growers together. Toward the end of the effort, violence became an increasing incentive to growers. Night riders would raid both non-participating growers and trust warehouses to force cooperation and solidarity.

Ultimately the movement failed. Unfortunately, the solutions tried were all geared to the short term. Long-term solutions which were tied to the structural issues of agricultural credit were never addressed. Campbell uses the Tobacco Wars as an example of the way the country as a whole was changing. "The monopolistic power of the tobacco trust to control prices represented to farmers the ominous new order that relegated rural people to the control of centralized urban interests. As industrialism swept millions off the land, some deeply rooted values were swept away with them."

Campbell concludes by stating that America would be a very different place if the ideas generating the Tobacco Wars had successfully translated into mass action. His analysis of the economics involved goes beyond the simplistic explanations often offered by other agricultural writers and historians. He extrapolates the experiences of the tobacco growers to all

of present-day agriculture and the conclusions he reaches reflect the siege of corporate America on agriculture and the development of highly profitable agribusiness conglomerates to the detriment of family farms and, he proposes, the social fabric of America. Campbell provides a convincing portrait of a particular grass-roots uprising and its ramifications.

— Nancy Fischman

The Mountains Within Me

by Zell Miller
Cherokee Publishing Company
P.O. Box 1523
Marietta, GA 30061
\$7.95 (paperback)
1976

Zell Miller, the current governor of Georgia, chronicles the influence of his mountain heritage on his personal and political life in this small volume published in 1976 and updated in 1985. Miller first traces his family settlement in the north Georgia mountains, especially his family's involvement in the development of Young Harris College, where Miller was educated and later taught. He tells of his admiration for his mother, Birdie, who raised him alone and nurtured his interest in politics, and he recalls memories of a mountain childhood and mountain friends like Bert Lance, who also became a political name. To record a history he fears we are losing, Miller explores mountain dialect, foodways, moonshine production, politics, folklore and customs, and mountain music. At the conclusion of the book, he discusses the mountains today, commenting on the influx of tourists, issues of development and protection, and his abiding love for his mountain home. While the book is unabashedly nostalgic and romantic, it is interesting to see the journey of one man from rural Appalachia to a state governorship and to understand the influence of his background on his practice of contemporary politics. It is refreshing to hear a successful politician from Appalachia claim his birthright and note that it was in the mountains that his "hopes were lifted" and his "ability to cope was nurtured."

— Jean Haskell Speer

Museum from page 3

ship at the Butler Baptist Church. After more than 30 years, chimneys, trees, the remains of the old gristmill, a stone structure which was once the shoe repair shop, and many foundations endured as monuments to a former time.

At some point, the last person actually to have lived in Old Butler will pass away. Memories will become myths as friends and family members continue to tell the stories once told them. Each telling will offer new interpretations, and the descendants of those who told the first stories will eagerly visit Old Butler when another drawdown proves those stories' origins.

— Helen Roseberry, Director
Margaret Carr, Registrar
and Blair White, Curator

The information in this column was compiled for a presentation museum staff prepared for the Appalachian Studies Conference, March 1994, Blacksburg, Va.

Archives from page 3

Collections with other types of documentation (manuscript, audiotape) often contain photographs. The *Thomas Burton Collection*, for example, contains prints and negatives of serpent handling in religious services in Southern Appalachia.

Small collections, too, often contain valuable prints. The *Shoun Family Photographs* contains seven prints and one tin-type dating from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, of Shoun family members from Carter County. The *Jane Dulaney Hilbert Collection* consists of slides and contact prints on aviation in the Tri-Cities region. The *Pressmen's Home Photograph Collection* contains prints depicting the Pressmen's Home in Rogersville, Tenn. And the *Mike DuBose Photographs* contains prints of serpent handling in East Tennessee.

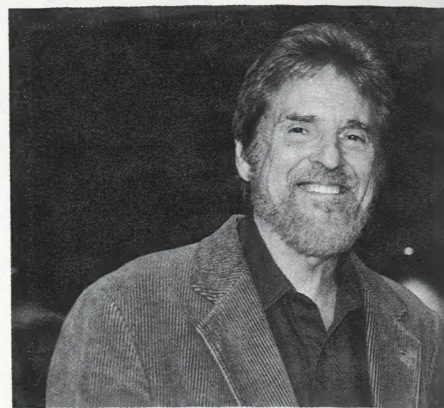
These collections, and many others, contribute to the photographic portrayal of the Southern mountains. For more information contact the archives at (615) 929-4338.

— Marie Tedesco
Technical Services Archivist
and Norma Myers
Head, Archives of Appalachia

Music

This song was put together by Guy Carawan. "These are some of the words and feelings I heard expressed ... at Moving Star Hall, the last old time Prayer House left on John's Island, S.C. These are people who sometimes say they've been swallowing bitter pills. . .but still are singing and shouting for a better day. Almost all of their old spirituals are sung in a 'shouting' style with complex foot and hand rhythms, using a number of voices in a call and response style ... Guy said he's been singing this song since probably the early '60s. It was featured in the October-December issue of *Sing Out* magazine, 1985. 'Ain't You Got a Right' was most recently recorded on *Tree of Life-Arbol de la Vida* by Guy and Candie Carawan and Friends; 1990, Flying Fish Records, FF70525.

—Ed Snodderly



Guy Carawan

Photos by Pat Arnou

AIN'T YOU GOT A RIGHT TO THE TREE OF LIFE

Ain't You Got A Right, — Ain't You Got A Right, —

Ain't You Got A Right, —

Ain't You Got A Right — (Right) —

Ain't You Got A Right —

To The TREE — OF — Life — (Life) —

To The TREE — OF Life

We come from a distance
We come from a distance
And we got a right
To the tree of life

Rocky was the road
And dangerous the journey
But we got a right
To the tree of life

Our lives will be sweeter
(Yours & mine & our children's) lives
will be sweeter
'Cause we got a right
To the tree of life

COAL CAMP TRINITY

It weren't a decent God, Ancil cried,
That let children and coal towns die.
And it weren't coal dust. It were blacken gold
That swirled and rolled from the tippie hill,
Past the movie house to Mocky's Grill.

It weren't a dream. It were a reality.

It weren't F.D.R. It were Ethel Mae,
Who faced the fear, and never failed to pray.
And, it weren't hard times. It were life's times
That swirled and rolled, with its ebbs and flows
The tears of pain and joy that a Mother knows.

It weren't a dream, my friend. It were reality
For Victor, Charlie Boy, and me.

And it weren't John L. Lewis. It were Daddy Bud,
Who toiled for coal in the dark, dank mud.
And, it weren't picket lines. It were battlefields
That swirled and rolled o'er the strong and weak
Through the Winding Gulf up to old Paint Creek.

It weren't a dream. It were reality.
For Victor, Charlie Boy, and me.
Them Summer days we were living free.

Now, the Sun falls hard from the coal camp sky.
The harsh truth becomes the harshest lie.
It weren't the coal camp trinity. It were you and me
That swirled and rolled, and faced the strifes
along the coal dust covered roads of our lives.

Lay lilacs at the ruins of the Island Creek Store.
Listen for the voices you long to hear once more.
As we swirl and roll in different spheres,
Who will understand and convey the loss
of a saving God, a President, and a union boss.

It weren't a dream, my friend. It were reality
For Victor, Charlie Boy, and me.
Them Summer days we were living free,
Long before wants gave way to needs.

— Jim Watkins

Jim Watkins served as press secretary to West Virginia Congressman Harley Staggers Jr. and is currently public relations manager for the National Association of Retired Federal Employees. He lives in Jefferson County, W.Va.



Appalachian Romance

What's funny about Appalachia? See our special feature on the politics of humor.

NOW & THEN

THE APPALACHIAN MAGAZINE

Center for Appalachian Studies and Services
East Tennessee State University
Box 70556
Johnson City, TN 37614-0556

Please Forward

Coming Up:
Summer 1994
10th Anniversary &
Writing Contest Winners
Fall 1994
Celebrations and Rituals

Non-Profit Org.
**U.S. Postage
Paid**
Permit No. 194
Johnson City,
Tenn.
37601